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THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Gov't covers up crisis

Thousands laid off, recession deepens

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**20,000
demand:
Free
Puerto
Rico now!**



Proindependence rally at New York's Madison Square Garden. See pages 11, 12.

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Workers face massive layoffs as worldwide recession deepens

By DICK ROBERTS

On Oct. 29, 1929, 45 years ago, the bottom fell out of the New York stock exchange, ushering in a depression in the United States that spread throughout the capitalist world.

Today, for the first time since the 1930s, the capitalist world is once again threatened by international depression. In the United States a recession is deepening—it could easily become the worst recession in the post-war period—and around the world the economies of other leading capitalist nations are turning toward a slump.

Business Week magazine spelled out the "global list of casualties" Oct. 26:

"In country after country, the litany is the same: slumping sales, production cutbacks, employee layoffs, liquidity squeezes, and bankruptcies. Broadly speaking, the most devastated industries are construction, autos, textiles, and consumer electronics. But the rot is spreading to such strong components as chemicals, steel, and even capital equipment makers, as demand begins to soften."

The cumulative effect of a deep recession in the United States and simultaneous downturns in the other advanced capitalist countries would be a world economic crisis on the scale of the 1930s.

Workers around the globe are already feeling the effects. *Business Week* notes:

• Fiat and Lancia, the Italian auto companies, are cutting production and putting 71,000 workers on reduced hours. The fallout among Turin auto parts makers is likely to be fierce.

• Philips of Eindhoven, the Dutch electronics giant, is so worried about mounting inventories that it is firing or reducing the working hours of 6,000 employees around the world.

• Nippon Kokan, a major Japanese steel producer, will cut production by 10% beginning next month....

• British Caledonian Airways, Britain's biggest privately owned airline, last week sacked 14.5% of its 5,700 workers, suspended North Atlantic service, and said it will dispose of six of its 19 short-haul jets."

U.S. conditions worst

But unemployment is rising most rapidly in the United States. *Business Week* anticipates an unemployment level in 1975 of more than 8 percent. This would make the present recession the worst of the seven that have occurred since the end of World War II.

Central to the U.S. economy is the auto industry, which is hard hit. (See story on page 4.)

Layoffs are also spreading in other industries throughout the economy. In 51 urban areas, largely in the Northeast, Midwest, Puerto Rico, and on the Pacific Coast, unemployment is already above 6 percent. In January 1969, at the peak of the long boom of the 1960s, there were only six such areas.

Burlington Industries recently closed five North Carolina textile mills, idling 1,500 workers. General Electric furloughed 450 of 5,000 workers at its TV-receiver plant in Portsmouth, Va., after furloughing 14,000 appliance workers for a week in Louisville, Ky., where 2,300 workers were fired permanently.

In small one-company towns, the layoff of several hundred workers can send the community into crisis. Such layoffs do not make the national



Jobless lines in Detroit are growing longer. Democrats and Republicans offer no solutions for the more than five million unemployed.

news, but the "list continues swelling day by day," according to *Business Week*.

Blacks hit hardest

Black unemployment is increasing at the "traditional" rate of nearly twice that of white workers. The U.S. Labor Department reported Oct. 28 that in the third quarter of 1974 the white unemployment rate increased from 4.7 to 5.0 percent, while the unemployment rate for Blacks jumped from 9.0 to 9.5 percent. The unemployment rate for Black teen-agers was almost two-and-a-half times that for white: 33.0 percent as compared to 14.1 percent.

As conditions for working people worsen the capitalists will seize every opportunity to lay the blame somewhere other than where it belongs, namely, on the fundamental contradictions of capitalism itself.

Most ominous is their attempt to blame the world crisis on higher oil prices. The Nov. 4 *Time* magazine went to press with a front-cover illustration of the Shah of Iran and the title: "The Emperor of Oil." This when the real "emperor of oil" is a nominee for vice-president of the United States!



Depression of 1930s. With all major capitalist economies in slump, it could happen again.

According to the *Time* article, Iran's oil revenues could rise to \$23-billion in 1974. But the Rockefeller-owned Exxon alone had sales and assets of more than \$25-billion last year and they will be much higher by the end of 1974.

The attempt to picture Middle East regimes as though they could dictate policy to world imperialism is completely false.

As the *Time* article itself reveals, a considerable portion of Iran's oil revenues must be invested outside that country, especially in the U.S. and Western Europe, because there are not profitable markets in Iran, where most of the population still lives under conditions of precapitalist poverty.

Just 'hired gun'

The Iranian military forces have been stocked by U.S. and other foreign war-goods manufacturers. There are several thousand U.S. technical advisers living in Iran who play key roles on economic and political levels. *Time* admits that in the Pentagon the Shah is considered merely a "hired gun," whose job is to police imperialist interests in the Persian Gulf region.

Such a regime is entirely subordinate to the major imperialist powers.

But this does not mean that these powers are willing to give the Shah and other governments of oil-producing nations a free hand to set world prices.

On the contrary, they oppose any redistribution of wealth at all in favor of underdeveloped countries away from the imperialist centers. At the same time that U.S. rulers are complaining about the "oil cartel" of the oil-producing nations, U.S. food exporters are driving prices to record highs, resulting in drastic famines in Africa and South Asia.

There is a real danger that the imperialists will seize the opportunity—primed with chauvinist propaganda such as the *Time* article—to step in and impose more direct controls on oil prices, including military intervention if they find it necessary and think they could get away with it.

In order to bring out the truth about the world oil prices it is necessary to open the books of the real international petroleum cartel—the five U.S. and two British-Dutch oil firms that refine and sell most world oil.

Oil prices could be brought down immediately by eliminating the profits of these trusts. They should be nationalized and put under workers control for the benefit of the oppressed populations of the world.

At the same time it is important

to stress the real causes of the capitalist economic crisis.

In the first place is the inescapable capitalist business cycle with its periodic tendency toward overproduction.

Recessions are fundamentally caused when more goods have been produced than can be profitably sold. Then production must be slowed and workers must be fired. As the purchasing power of consumers declines, the economic crisis deepens.

It is precisely the accumulation of huge inventories in auto and other industries that underlies the layoffs going into effect now.

The fact that interest rates have begun to decline in the past two weeks indicates that overproduction is beginning to be felt in the capital-goods industries as well. Corporations are reducing their schedules for the construction of new plants and equipment, which they finance through massive borrowing. This lessens the demand for credit, and interest rates decline.

Boardroom Reports, a business information service for executives, notes in its Oct. 30 issue that orders for capital equipment are down to "about 60% of what they were a few months ago."

These figures indicate that the recession will deepen. With industrial production off for the third quarter in a row it is more than likely that the present recession will be the worst in the postwar period.

The University of Michigan says in its current survey of purchasing attitudes that consumer sentiment "has reached a substantially lower level than during the previous periods of recession in the past 25 years."

That is largely because this recession is being accompanied by uncontrolled inflation. The consumer-price rise in September brought consumer prices 12.1 percent higher than in September 1973, the biggest year-to-year increase since 1947.

Inflation

On the economic level, it is the world inflation that most clearly differentiates the economic crisis of today from the depression of the 1930s, when governments were not following inflationary policies and prices actually dropped sharply.

Since World War II the capitalist governments have pursued policies of deficit spending that tended to cushion recessions, at the cost of permanent and worsening inflation. But now it is doubtful that continued world inflation can prevent the economic crisis

Continued on next page

Auto workers speak out against layoffs

By RICHARD ORAWEIC

DETROIT—News of impending massive layoffs in the auto industry has sent a shock wave through the city.

Within a three-day period General Motors (GM), Ford, and Chrysler all announced layoffs that will throw more than 10,000 auto workers onto the streets by the end of the year. This is in addition to more than 50,000 auto workers already on indefinite layoff.

Thousands of white-collar workers will also be laid off in the coming months, according to company spokesmen.

Citing plummeting sales and declining profit margins, GM detailed plans to lay off more than 6,000 workers at its Willow Run, Mich.; Leeds, Mo.; Tarrytown, N.Y.; and Van Nuys, Calif., plants. This will raise to 36,000 the number of GM workers on indefinite layoff.

Ford plans to lay off almost 1,000 workers indefinitely and thousands more for periods of one to three weeks. Ford already has more than 5,000 workers on indefinite layoff.

The biggest shock, however, came when Chrysler announced it was considering closing its 67-year-old Jefferson Avenue assembly plant in Detroit, which employs more than 5,000 workers. Company statements that these workers would be absorbed by other Chrysler plants have been met with ridicule by workers and union spokesmen, who point out that Chrysler is laying off in other plants as well.

Chrysler is Detroit's largest employer. The impact of these and other layoffs on the area's economy will be disastrous. The official unemployment rate in Michigan is already more than 9 percent.

Doug Fraser, the United Auto Workers (UAW) vice-president in charge of the union's Chrysler department, has made no proposal to deal with the coming layoffs, other than to ask Chrysler to spread them out more evenly around the country. The auto workers themselves have other ideas.

The *Militant* talked with a number of workers at the Jefferson Avenue plant to assess the impact of the threatened layoffs. One white worker in his late twenties with two years on the job proposed that the available work be spread around.

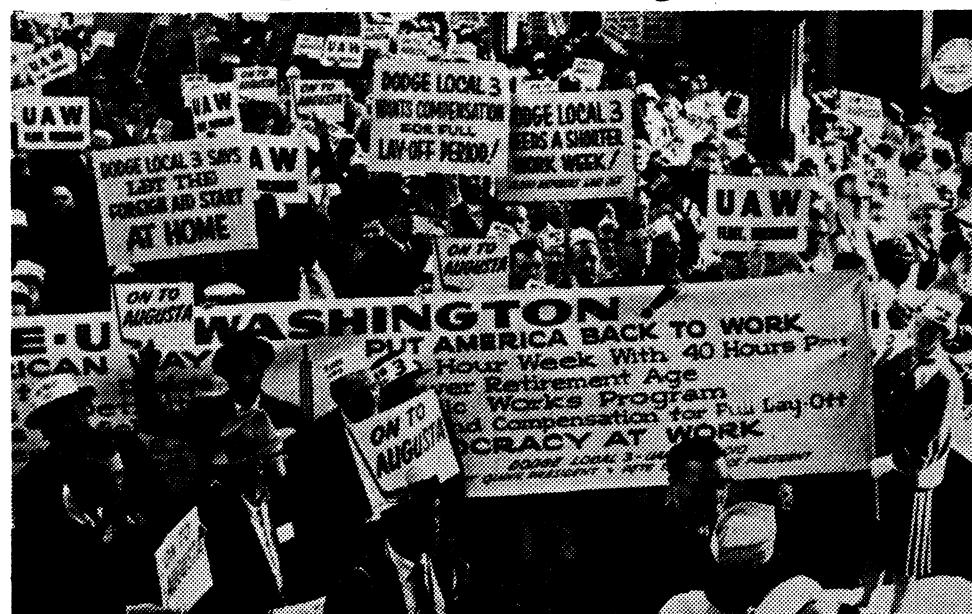
"I think they should give the people as much work as they can," he said, "and cut back on hours but still let everybody work."

He felt it would be difficult for him to find another job, since he lost an ear in an accident in the plant. He was critical of President Ford's economic program, saying, "When you go out to buy food it's really expensive. And they're not doing anything for the working man. It's all for the people who got the money. They do what they want to do."

A 29-year-old Black worker didn't think he would have much trouble getting a job with Chrysler elsewhere, since he has 10 years seniority. But, he predicted, "anyone with seniority below 1968 will have a lot of trouble."

He thinks the layoffs are part of Ford's economic plan and predicted that it would hurt the Black community most, since "most of the younger workers are Black."

Cal Calvert is Black and 34 years old; he has seven years' seniority. He agreed with others that it would take seven or more years' seniority to be absorbed by Chrysler elsewhere. He suggested the company should "stop overtime and stop letting the super-



Auto workers arrive in Washington for mass rally against unemployment in 1959. UAW still has formal position for shorter workweek, but has not mobilized ranks to win this demand.

visors work on the line," as a way to spread the available work around.

Calvert called Ford's economic program and Chrysler's layoffs "twins." He didn't like Ford's proposal to wear "WIN" buttons, heat less, eat less, and drive less. "I can't lower the heat to 65," he said, "because my heat doesn't come up to 65!"

Almost all the workers interviewed were pessimistic about other job possibilities. Some were worried about getting the UAW's "Supplemental Unemployment Benefits" (SUB). Workers with a year or more seniority are eligible to get a SUB that—together with their unemployment check—would bring them up to 95 percent of their weekly base pay, figured on a straight-time basis.

Workers at the Jefferson Avenue plant pointed out that SUB funds were limited, and that more massive layoffs would probably deplete the funds quickly, leaving the workers high and dry.

Although individual workers raised the idea of spreading the available work around, the UAW officialdom has been silent on this question.

The union has a plank in its program demanding 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, but this demand has not been pushed in contract talks for many years.

As the new round of layoffs spreads throughout the industry, it is likely that many auto workers will insist that this demand be taken down off the shelf and turned into a fighting slogan for jobs for all.

...behind the deepening worldwide recession

Continued from preceding page

from deepening. The fact is beginning to sink into the heads of capitalist economists that at a certain point prices are so high that workers simply cannot afford to buy more goods.

This, coupled with increasing joblessness, makes the economic crisis all the worse.

This fact was expressed by Chase Manhattan Bank Vice-president Eugene Birnbaum in the Oct. 27 *New York Times*. "It is simply false," said Birnbaum, "to believe that the excessive expansion of credit is an inexpensive way to avert recession. In-

deed, we are now learning how costly it really is, as inflation endangers the very existence of our economic system and political values."

In the course of reconsidering their economic policies, such "experts" are admitting that the fundamental cause of inflation is government policy aimed at expanding the money supply. Says Birnbaum:

"There is, however, a more fundamental dimension of the underlying sickness [than higher oil prices]. The oil problem has masked this more deeply rooted source of disturbance.

"I refer to the last 40 years of mon-

ey and credit expansion. Since the 1930's we have viewed the growth of money and credit as the answer to recession."

Lessons for workers

Working people can learn much from arguments like these, buried in the financial pages of the capitalists' newspapers.

Birnbaum discloses in so many words that recessions are inevitable under capitalism.

He also admits that inflation is the only remedy that capitalist governments have come up with for recession. And today the inflationary road is not working; recession is deepening on a world scale despite rising inflation.

Birnbaum speaks from a level of sophistication not shared by most Democratic and Republican politicians.

While world economic crisis threatens and inflation is increasingly chewing up incomes, the capitalist politicians speak as though they have no idea what lies behind economic developments. The Ford administration goes so far as to pretend that the recession doesn't exist.

The White House officially described the third quarter of slowdown in industrial production as a "sideways waffle"—pure jargon to conceal the real facts of deepening unemployment at the time of elections.

Yet, whatever they know or do not know about the functioning of the economy, every government measure—whether it is budget trimming in order to increase the recessionary trends, or a budget increase to further the inflation, all taxation policy, and every measure of wage control

as well—must be passed by Congress. The economic policies of the Nixon and Ford administrations received overwhelming endorsement in both the Senate and the House of Representatives, both controlled by Democrats.

With unemployment at more than five million already and a real possibility of it reaching twice that number in 1975, these politicians have proposed no adequate, or even halfway serious programs for providing jobs.

To protect jobs

All of this pinpoints what must be the central strategy of workers in fighting to protect their jobs and wages. They must expose the real causes of the crisis in the capitalist system and seek routes independent of the capitalist parties and government to resolve this crisis.

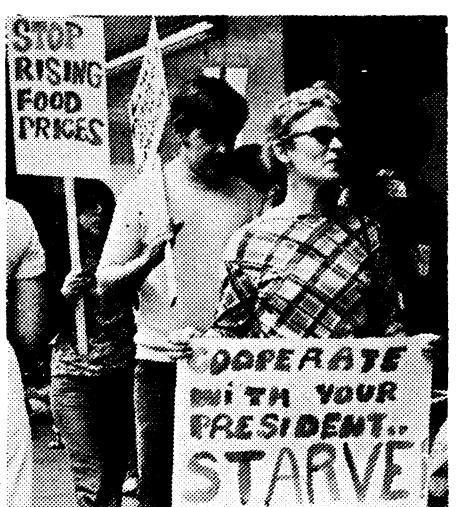
There is a difference of immense social importance between the U.S. today and in the early 1930s. Workers in basic industry are now organized into unions.

Trade unions can and should take the lead in struggling for jobs for everybody, through a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay, massive public works programs, and union-scale wages for the unemployed; and in struggling for wages and benefits that are protected against inflation by built-in escalator clauses that automatically raise wages as prices go up.

Struggles around these and other demands that rise from the needs of the working class, led by the unions, would result in a far different outcome than followed the stock market crash 45 years ago. They could lead to a socialist America.

Tighten whose belt?

The Democrats and Republicans blame workers for inflation and demand that we sacrifice. For further reading on the socialist analysis and alternative solutions . . .



SOCIALIST PROGRAM TO FIGHT INFLATION. Published by Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee. 25 cents.

ISSUES FACING THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE 1970s. Edited by Paul Davidson. 60 cents.

CONSTRUCTION WORKERS UNDER ATTACK: HOW TO FIGHT BACK AND REBUILD THE UNIONS by Nat Weinstein, Frank Lovell, Carol Lipman. 35 cents.

INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST ECONOMIC THEORY by Ernest Mandel. 80 pp., paper \$1.25.

Order from:
Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Unemployment: product of profit system

By FRANK LOVELL

Unemployment is soaring all over the capitalist world. More than five million workers in this country cannot find jobs. Britain, Italy, and Germany each has about 700,000 out of work and is heading for the one million mark. Unemployment in France has passed 500,000, the highest figure since World War II.

From the point of view of society's needs, this tremendous waste of human productive capability—not to speak of the misery inflicted upon the unemployed and their families—is obviously irrational. Why, then, does it persist and even worsen?

The immediate cause of a sudden rise in unemployment is overproduction. When a factory produces more than can be sold, inventories of goods accumulate, and the boss responds by cutting production and laying off workers. This is seen most dramatically today in the auto industry.

Despite all the talk about shortages—which is offered by charlatans like Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz as an excuse for rising prices—a glut of commodities on the U.S. and world markets is beginning to develop.

After all the ballyhoo about oil shortages, for example, the Oct. 15 *Wall Street Journal* reports "a global glut of oil in storage.... Even oil tankers are dawdling on the high seas as a sort of floating storage."

The *Journal* adds that "despite the storage glut, some companies are re-

luctant to reduce prices of petroleum products."

Another news dispatch, this one in the *New York Times*, announces that "fifty thousand tons of surplus beef are sitting in refrigerated warehouses in West Germany."

It also reports that a German freighter wandered from one port to another last summer seeking permission to unload 600 tons of Chinese pork. It finally docked at Hamburg, but the pork had to be sent to a buyer in Austria who will sell it to Chinese restaurants. Meanwhile, in a supermarket in Bonn, beef is \$5.50 a pound and pork is \$3.60.

Such overproduction results when there are more commodities produced than there are buyers to purchase them. This doesn't mean there isn't great want. It means that those millions who desperately need what is offered for sale cannot afford to buy. They must go without, while warehouses overflow and production is cut.

This cruel paradox is characteristic of the cyclical crises of the capitalist economy, which have occurred regularly and inevitably ever since capitalism itself arose.

There is another, longer-term cause of unemployment. This is the constant striving of each capitalist, under pressure from competitive rivals, to lower costs of production by increasing the productivity of labor. This in turn means taking advantage of the most advanced technology—automation. In its continual drive to replace workers with machines, capitalism continually replenishes the ranks of the unemployed, the "reserve army of labor."

These two causes of unemployment—overproduction and automation—can reinforce each other. When the economy picks up after a downturn, an industry is not likely to rehire all those who were thrown out of work, because of the increased productivity made possible by new machinery installed during the previous boom.

What the apologists for the profit system never admit is that unemployment is absolutely necessary to the functioning of the capitalist economy. Capitalism cannot permit full employment, and that is why its bought-off pseudoscientists talk about 4 or 5 percent unemployment as "full employment."

The threat of being thrown into the ranks of the unemployed is needed to dampen workers' militancy in



Killing calves to keep meat prices up, while millions starve, symbolizes irrationality of capitalist system.

struggling for higher wages and better conditions.

Conversely, when all or nearly all of the workers can find jobs, their leverage in the class struggle is greatly increased. They are then able to secure a greater portion of the wealth they produce, and at a certain point the profits of the factory owners will be threatened.

As soon as this happens, the capitalists respond by cutting production and redoubling their efforts to replace workers with machines. The result is to increase unemployment again until the "reserve army" is large enough to keep the workers' wage demands to the minimum.

The conventional wisdom of Keynesian economists dictates that government policies—expanding or tightening up the money supply, running a budget surplus or deficit—can "trade off" inflation and unemployment.

They use what is called the "Phillips curve," which records the relation between unemployment and inflation. The two are supposed to move in inverse relation: as unemployment rises, inflation will slow down; too high unemployment can be averted through inflationary policies.

But the economy is more complex and society is more volatile than the economists know or can account for. They are puzzling over new facts that do not conform to their schema. Both inflation and unemployment are climbing, and this is happening in

spite of the recent "tight money" policy of the Federal Reserve Board.

The economists try to attribute this strange phenomenon to the "energy crisis," the "world food shortage," and other "natural causes." The truth is that the Keynesian trade off only worked—to a limited extent—so long as the world capitalist economy as a whole was expanding. This post-World War II expansion was based on rebuilding the economies of shattered Europe and Japan, and it came to an end in the 1960s.

Leon Trotsky, who was not bound by the limitations of the bourgeois economists and had no need to justify the workings of the capitalist economic system, foresaw that capitalist production and distribution could give rise at the same time to mass unemployment and rapidly rising prices.

In the *Transitional Program*, written 36 years ago, when there was mass unemployment, Trotsky observed that government borrowing combined with massive arms spending in preparation for World War II was driving up the prices of all consumer commodities.

He wrote that these "two basic economic afflictions, in which is summarized the increasing absurdity of the capitalist system, that is, unemployment and high prices, demand generalized slogans and methods of struggle."

"Against a bounding rise in prices . . .," Trotsky wrote, "one can fight only under the slogan of a sliding scale of wages. This means that collective agreements should assure an automatic rise in wages in relation to the increase in price of consumer goods. . . .

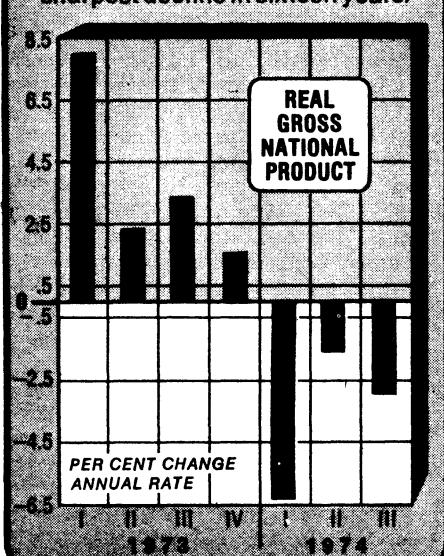
"Against unemployment, 'structural' as well as 'conjunctural,' the time is ripe to advance, along with the slogan of public works, the slogan of a sliding scale of working hours." This means a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay, to divide all the work on hand among all the workers.

Neither the problem of inflation nor unemployment can be solved by the employers. The economic crisis is the result of their blind, anarchic scramble for profits.

But the workers, who are the victims of this irrational system, demand useful production for the satisfaction of human needs. Beginning with struggles against today's inflation and unemployment, they can take over and reorganize the economy to provide an abundance of the world's goods for all.

A DEEPENING SLUMP

With a third-quarter drop in real output, the U.S. economy is in its sharpest decline in sixteen years.



U.S. News & World Report graph. Periodic recessions are permanent feature of capitalist economy.

Zionists stage armed attack on PLO office

By SAM MANUEL

Three men armed with guns and a lead pipe forced their way into the office of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in New York Oct. 29 and beat up PLO staff member Hasan Rahman, the only person in the office at the time. The assailants fired at least two times as they ran out of the office, but Rahman was not hit.

A group called the Jewish Armed Resistance took credit for the attack, and one of the thugs wore the insignia of the right-wing terrorist Jewish Defense League. The office was ransacked, with phones ripped out and files dumped.

"This is not the first time it has happened," said PLO representative Ibrahim Ebeid. Interviewed at the wrecked office, he cited four terrorist attacks on

the PLO in the past three years.

In an attack on the PLO office in 1970, PLO director Sadat Hasaan was beaten and required 63 stitches in his head. "We have received lots of telephone threats," said Ebeid. "The message we received just hours before this attack said that a death would take place in the office."

Last May Zionist thugs attacked Dr. Mohammad Mehdi of the Action Committee on Arab-American Relations and fractured his spine.

Rebecca Finch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from New York, issued a statement condemning the assault on the PLO office.

"This attack parallels the policies of the colonial-settler state of Israel, which sees all Arabs as enemies and conducts terror campaigns against



PLO representative Hasan Rahman receives medical treatment after terrorist attack.

them," she declared. "The aim of these attacks, whether in the Mideast or New York, is to thwart the just struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their homeland.

"In contrast to my Democratic and Republican opponents, who call for more arms to Israel, I am fighting for an end to U.S. support to the Israeli regime. My campaign stands unequivocally on the side of the Palestinian people in their struggle to regain their homeland and for creation of a democratic, secular Palestine.

"I challenge Ramsey Clark and Jacob Javits, both of whom have been beating the war drums for Zionist Israel, to join me in condemning this assault and in demanding an immediate investigation leading to the arrest of the perpetrators."

Cites freedom of speech and assembly

Young Socialist Alliance sues to stop FBI

By CONNIE PIPER

NEW YORK—The Young Socialist Alliance filed a motion in federal court here Oct. 29 asking for a preliminary injunction to stop FBI surveillance of the upcoming national convention of the YSA, scheduled to begin on Dec. 28 in St. Louis.

The socialists claim that FBI surveillance violates their First Amendment rights of free speech and association.

The YSA recently learned of the planned surveillance from an employee of the Jefferson Hotel in St. Louis, where the convention will take place.

The hotel employee, Jacqui Craig, signed an affidavit saying that an FBI agent told her "the F.B.I. would be on the premises during the convention." She was told the FBI intended to "keep an eye on the convention in case anything should break out."

The FBI agent wanted to know from the hotel how many and which rooms were reserved by the YSA.

At a news conference in their law office the day of the filing, constitutional attorneys Leonard Boudin and Herbert Jordan explained that the motion for the injunction requests emergency relief as part of a broader civil suit.

The suit, filed on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party and the YSA in July 1973, seeks a permanent injunction against such Watergate-style harassment as wiretapping, burglary,

cloud of suspicion is cast over our completely legal convention proceedings and other political activities.

"In reality, the YSA is an entirely lawful organization of young people who are socialist in our political convictions and who actively participate in the struggles of students, Blacks, women, working people and all those who are oppressed and exploited. The events of the past decade have shown that the real lawbreakers can be found in the White House and Congress, not in the FBI 'subversive' files."

Welch vowed that "the YSA won't be intimidated. We're redoubling our efforts to build a large and successful convention. Hundreds of young people will attend to map out a whole campaign against government harassment."

Welch announced that the Socialist Workers Party 1976 presidential campaign will be launched at a rally during the YSA convention. She added that the YSA would begin its drive at the convention to win support for the 1976 SWP presidential ticket.

The SWP rally is taking place in the Jefferson Hotel as well, and therefore would also be a target for the FBI surveillance. The rally will be the first public event of the 1976 SWP campaign, and it is an advertised highlight of the YSA convention.

Peter Camejo, a cochairman of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee who is currently on



Delegates at last year's YSA convention

Militant/Mark Satinoff

The socialists' brief notes that the FBI spying will deter many young people from even attending the convention. Others, it says, "will be reluctant to speak out in discussions, because by stating their names and drawing attention to themselves, they would become sitting ducks for government name-takers and photographers."

Strike meeting precedent

One of the precedents cited in the YSA and SWP brief is a 1948 case of a trade union local in Indiana. The local, which was conducting a strike, asked for an injunction to stop state police officers from attending union meetings and taking notes.

The court ruled that the cops' presence violated the unionists' right to freedom of speech and assembly. The ruling said: "It is true that the police officers have not actively prevented the plaintiffs from conducting their meetings as they desire or from speaking if they wished. But the evidence is that their presence and their taking of notes have had the same effect as if there were active interference."

The ruling continued: "It is indicated that this has come about because of the belief that the state police have taken a role as partisans in the labor dispute between the Union and the Smith Manufacturing Company. This feeling of restraint, frustration, and interference within the minds of the Union members, engendered by the

presence of the state police, appears to be a natural result flowing from the conduct of the police officers in their relations with the striking employees and the employer."

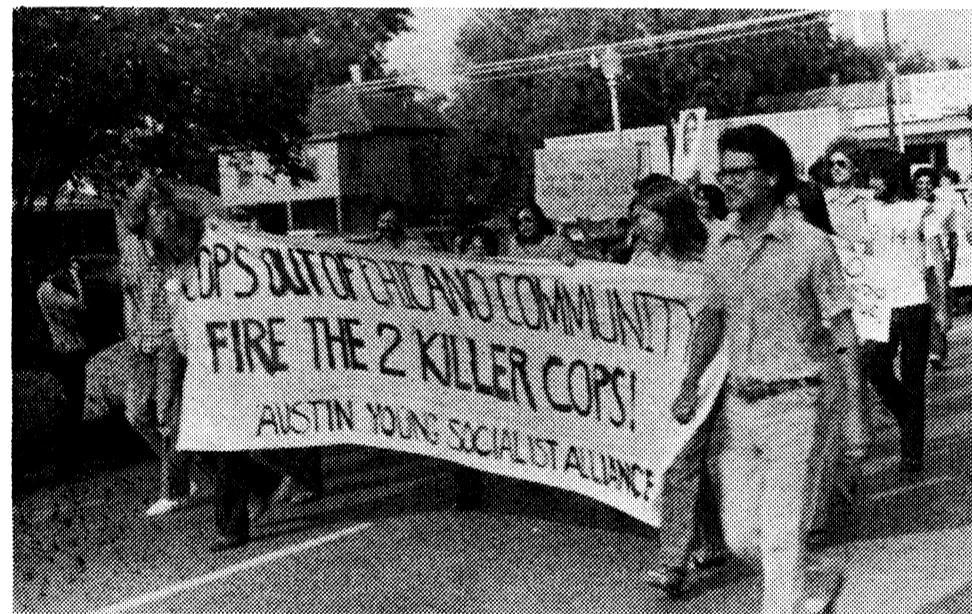
The socialists' motion for an injunction includes the following evidence of "adverse effects" from FBI spying:

- Copies of detailed Civil Service Commission reports on six government employees who were fired or threatened with dismissal from their jobs because of their attendance at YSA conventions and SWP election campaign rallies. The commission gets its information from the FBI.

- A statement from YSA member Elijah Green in Atlanta, who says he did not attend the 1972 YSA convention because he was afraid that if the FBI reported his attendance he would lose his Ford Foundation scholarship. Without that financial aid he could not remain in school.

- A report by YSA member Jeff Feather in Cleveland, who says that on his current convention-building tour of Ohio campuses he has met several students whose only reason for not attending the convention is their fear of FBI spying. One was a student government officer who thinks that FBI observation of him at the convention would jeopardize his chances of becoming a lawyer.

Another was a foreign student, who feared the FBI would relay information about his attendance to the secret



'The YSA is a completely legal organization,' said YSA leaders. 'We participate in struggles of all the oppressed.'

Militant/Don Sorsa

mail tampering, and infiltration. Defendants include President Ford, former president Nixon, the FBI, CIA, and other agencies and officials.

The government has until Nov. 5 to answer the motion for a preliminary injunction. Attorneys for the socialists have requested a public court hearing Nov. 8.

Boudin told reporters that "the issue is very elementary: Does the government have the right to attend and interfere in an open political convention? We say no. One wonders what the government could possibly say in its answer to our motion."

"We're counting on obtaining relief," Boudin said. "The precedents on our side are very substantial."

YSA's response

YSA national organization secretary Delpine Welch outlined the socialists' response to the threatened FBI spying.

"By conducting surveillance of our convention," she said, "the FBI hopes to stigmatize the YSA, closing ears and minds to our socialist ideas. A

a national speaking tour, told *The Militant* that "the government is trying to 'Watergate' our campaign even before it's been publicly announced."

"One of the best ways to answer the FBI's brazen attack on our rights is to come to St. Louis. Help us defend our right to campaign," he urged.

Boudin told reporters the FBI spy plans were an attempt by the government "to prevent a political party from functioning."

He argued that the surveillance violates the YSA's and SWP's rights to free speech and assembly because it is "an official inquisition into the participants and discussions at a peaceable assembly of supporters of a minority political party and its electoral candidates."

Jordan explained that the basis for the motion for an injunction is "our proof that the threat of surveillance has an inhibiting effect on convention attendance and that similar monitoring at past conventions has resulted in adverse effects on people who attended."

Come to the YSA convention

The Young Socialist Alliance will hold its fourteenth National Convention Dec. 28-Jan. 1 at the Jefferson Hotel in St. Louis. The convention, the highest body of the organization, will chart the YSA's course of activity for the year ahead.

Reports, panels, and workshops will take up the Black liberation struggle, the women's liberation movement, the Puerto Rican movement, the United Farm Workers boycott, campus struggles, the fight for democratic rights, questions of international revolutionary strategy, and many other topics.

A highlight of the convention will be a rally launching the 1976 Socialist Workers Party presidential election campaign.

The gathering is open to all young people interested in socialist ideas. If you would like more information, mail in the coupon below.

Clip and mail to: YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003

() Send me more information about the YSA convention.

() I want to attend the convention.

() I want to join the YSA.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Phone _____

Spy plans

police in his own country, which is a dictatorship known for its torture chambers.

Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is publicizing the SWP and YSA suit, told reporters that "the impact of FBI surveillance is to give the impression that there is something illegitimate or criminal about being associated with groups like the YSA. If it is possible to secure court disapproval of this kind of spying, it will defeat the whole thrust of the FBI's efforts."

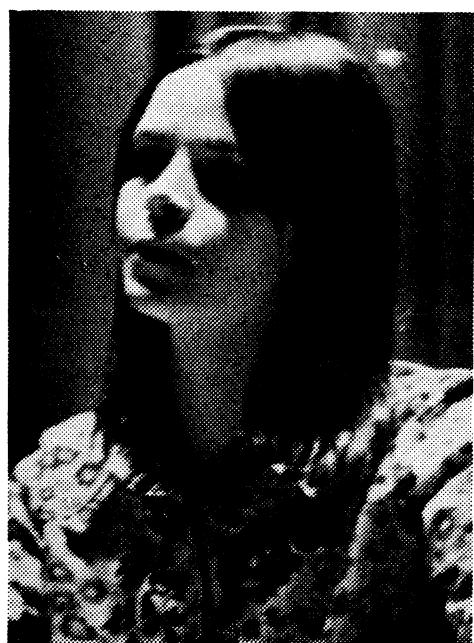
Boudin remarked that "this is a major case . . . it has been recognized by lawyers, judges, by political parties who are opposed to the SWP, and by individuals as very important for all minority political parties."

He pointed out that the suit has already forced the government to produce documents and damaging admissions that show the illegality of the government's harassment of the SWP and YSA.

One of the government's admissions is that it initiated an FBI "Counter-intelligence Program — SWP Disruption Program" in 1961. This "COINTELPRO" was one of a series of disruption plans aimed against Black activists, radicals, socialists, and others.

Openly proclaimed

The socialists' request for an injunction notes, "We cannot yet prove a direct link between the present moni-



Militant/Ernest Harsch
DELPHINE WELCH: 'We won't be intimidated.'

toring and the 'SWP-Disruption Program.' However, an intent to inhibit is suggested by the fact that the monitoring plans are not secret, but were openly proclaimed to the hotel sales department without any request to keep it confidential. This type of blatant, overt surveillance reflects the Bureau's [FBI's] strategy of intimidating political dissidents by cultivating the fear that 'there is an FBI agent behind every mailbox.'

Welch called the YSA and SWP suit "part of the YSA's overall drive to fight against government interference in radical political activity and part of our overall campaign to change this society from top to bottom."

She said that eight national leaders of the YSA would soon begin campus speaking tours to urge young people to attend the convention and to protest the FBI spying.

"Local YSA chapters will be appealing to student governments and organizations and to campus newspapers to support the rights of the YSA to hold its convention free from FBI harassment," Welch concluded.

Unionists back political rights fight

The 1974 New York State AFL-CIO convention, meeting last month in Kiamesha Lake, N.Y., passed a resolution condemning FBI harassment of political organizations.

The resolution cites such occurrences as the Lori Paton case, in which "a 16-year-old New Jersey high school student wrote to the Socialist Workers Party for information about their campaign to use in a school term paper, and was subsequently harassed by the FBI who discovered her name by monitoring all mail received at the party headquarters. . . ."

It concludes by affirming that the New York AFL-CIO is "unalterably opposed to any harassment or interference of citizens exercising their right to explore different political ideas and organizations."

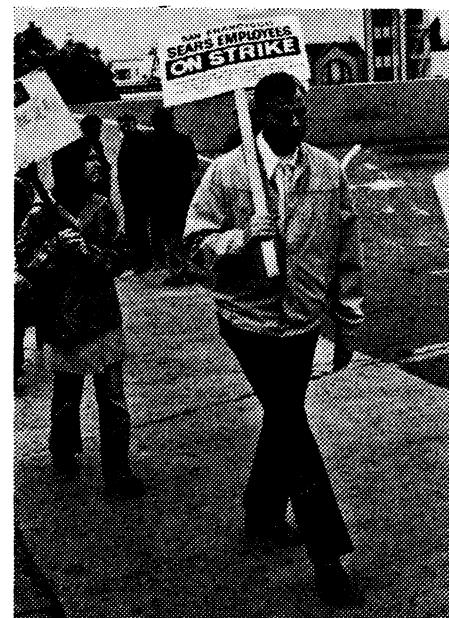
The AFL-CIO delegates declared that "as trade unionists we particularly value the right of freedom of association without which no union or political organization is free to function. . . ."

The resolution was submitted by Local 1930 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). Local 1930 had previously voted to endorse the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), a civil liberties organization that is building support for the suit by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government surveillance and disruption.

On the same date, in Oakland, Calif., prominent Bay Area union officials Art Carter and Walter Johnson were among those who expressed their support for the SWP suit at a PRDF fund-raising benefit.

The suit, filed by attorney Leonard Boudin, has already forced the government to admit the FBI has wiretapped the SWP since 1945, conducted a "mail cover" of correspondence addressed to the SWP national office in New York, and maintained an "SWP Disruption Program."

Disruption of the SWP was one of



Militant/Harry Ring

Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of Retail Clerks Local 1100, has joined with other labor leaders in backing socialist suit.

the many FBI "counterintelligence programs" aimed at the Black, antiwar, and radical movements.

Speaking at the Oakland PRDF benefit, Walter Johnson, executive secretary-treasurer of Retail Clerks Local 1100, said, "Everyone should have the right to run for office and express their ideas without government interference." Johnson's local won an important victory last May after an eight-and-a-half-month strike against two Sears department stores.

Art Carter, secretary-treasurer of the Contra Costa County Labor Council, related the SWP suit to the fight to defend the basic rights of the labor movement.

"It is important to recognize the absolute necessity of supporting all legal efforts to preserve political expression . . . and to view these struggles as linked to our own ability to picket and strike," he said.

Robert Allen, managing editor of *Black Scholar* and a member of the PRDF's advisory board, also attended the benefit and urged everyone present to unite in support of PRDF activities.

"I am very impressed with the wide amount of support the PRDF suit has won," he said. "The government harasses all protest groups and individuals, and it makes sense to unite in struggle to preserve and even expand our democratic rights. . . . This organization is getting this concept forward very successfully, and I will continue to do what I can to support this work."

To help secure more trade-union support for the SWP and YSA suit, the PRDF has issued a new piece of literature entitled "Labor's stake in the fight for political rights."

The leaflet, which quotes from the New York AFL-CIO resolution, points out that "labor unions, Black activists, socialists and others who challenge administration policies are among the victims of the worst government harassment." It urges union locals and officials to endorse the PRDF in order to "help to defend the political rights of all."

Clip and mail to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone: (212) 691-3270.

() Enclosed is \$_____ to help cover expenses.
() Please send me more information.
() Please send me _____ copies of the labor leaflet (\$1.50 per 100 copies)
() Enclosed is \$_____ for _____ copies of *A Challenge to the Watergate Crimes* (\$1 each, or 75 cents for five or more).

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Phone _____

Calif. socialist appeals frame-up

By MORRIS STARSKY

LOS ANGELES—An appeal against the frame-up perjury conviction of Salm Kolis was filed Oct. 15 by attorney Peter Young. Kolis, who was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for San Diego city council, was convicted last December after a three-day trial for allegedly giving a false address in her nominating papers.

The San Diego city government has a long-standing reputation for its conservative, antilabor policies. The prosecution of the 23-year-old socialist candidate—who was handcuffed and hauled off to jail only a few days before the elections—was another attempt to intimidate political dissidents in the city.

No Democratic or Republican politicians have ever been subjected to similar prosecution, despite serious irregularities discovered in their nominating affidavits by an enterprising reporter and admitted by the San Diego city attorney.

The judge sentenced Kolis to five days in jail, a \$500 fine, and probation for three years. He denied a motion for a stay of execution and bail pending Kolis's appeal. These were finally granted by an appellate court, but not before Kolis had already served a day in jail.

The unfair nature of the trial provided attorney Young with ample

grounds for appealing the conviction.

For one thing, in the course of the trial it was discovered that the FBI had a paid informer in the defense camp. But after the informer was discovered, the judge not only refused to allow the jury to hear about the surveillance, but imposed a sweeping gag order on Kolis and her attorney, prohibiting them from discussing it with the press.

The appeal brief points out that during the examination of the prosecution's chief witness, the prosecutor deliberately asked questions to elicit inadmissible and highly prejudicial answers from the witness concerning Kolis's socialist views.

As the brief states, "These prosecution questions represent a flagrant, deliberate and successful effort to put before the jury testimony which was . . . utterly irrelevant and highly inflammatory. . . ." Such appeals to antisocialist prejudice, the brief maintains, violated Kolis's constitutional right to a fair trial.

The brief also argues that the case should be sent back to the trial court for a hearing because the judge summarily denied Kolis's motion for disclosure of information gained by the prosecution from wiretapping of the SWP campaign headquarters and from the FBI informer.

If it can be shown that the prosecu-

tion gained information through the informer or wiretaps, then all records of the surveillance and all the information gained through it must be turned over to Salm Kolis or the case against her dismissed.

Contributions to help with the heavy costs of the appeal should be sent to the Committee to Defend Salm Kolis, P.O. Box 5313, San Diego, Calif. 92105.



Militant/Walter Lippmann
SALM KOLIS: Denounces unfair trial

SWP urges 'yes' vote

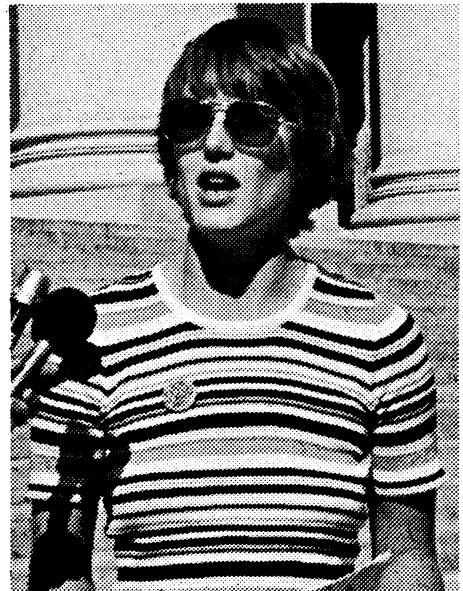
Colo. referendum to curb nuclear blasts

By RICH FEIGENBERG

DENVER—Trapped in the dense rock under the soil of western Colorado is an estimated 300 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, an estimated 30 percent of the total reserves in the United States.

Since the big oil companies have been on a campaign to drive up the price of fossil fuels, the development of these gas reserves has become a big project.

The taxpayers are footing the bill for getting under way what will become a highly profitable operation. The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) has spent \$82-million since 1967 in three experiments aimed at using underground nuclear explosions to produce the natural gas.



MILITANT/Frank Lord
NORA DANIELSON: 'Working people have right to decide these questions.'

Although these experiments have so far failed to product useful results, the AEC has included \$56.2-million in its next five-year budget to create five or six new wells with three to five nuclear blasts per well.

In the longer run, the AEC proposes to "stimulate" 1,190 new wells by 1990 by exploding 4,760 atom bombs in Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming. This will be the equivalent of 23,800 Hiroshima bombs!

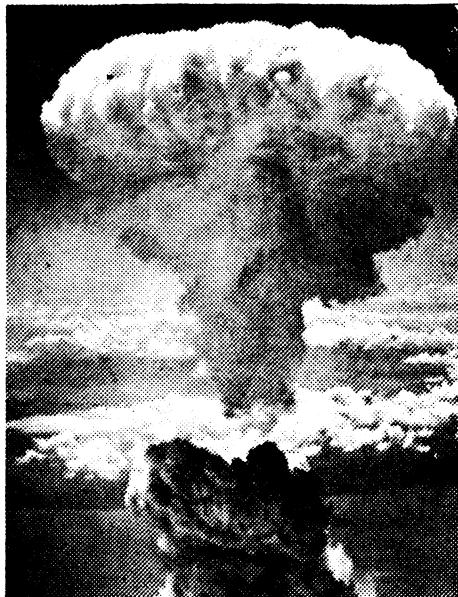
The nuclear blasts would produce vast amounts of deadly radioactive poisons, including carbon 14, krypton 85, strontium 90, cesium 137, and tritium.

In addition, the blast effects of explosions on the scale planned by the AEC pose a serious threat. The shock wave from the second AEC experiment damaged foundations, irrigation lines, mines, and an industrial plant.

The plans of the "atomaniacs" have prompted widespread opposition. A coalition of environmental groups, People for Rational Energy Sources, conducted a seven-month petition campaign to put an amendment to the state constitution on the Nov. 5 ballot.

Amendment 10, if passed, would require the approval of a majority of Colorado voters before any nuclear devices could be detonated in the state.

Nora Danielson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Colorado, is campaigning for a "yes" vote on Amendment 10. "This measure would give the working people of Colorado some say over these extremely dangerous and costly nuclear blasts," she says.



Energy profiteers propose to set off equivalent of 23,800 Hiroshima bombs under Colorado.

A recent poll in the *Denver Post* showed 53 percent in favor of Amendment 10, only 19 percent opposed, and 28 percent undecided.

Now it has been revealed that a consortium of the state's biggest steel, energy, and mining interests—those who stand to profit from the AEC's rampage in the Rockies—has put together a secret slush fund aimed at defeating Amendment 10.

A secret memo circulated by the Colorado Association of Commerce and Industry called for spending \$25,000-\$30,000 in the two weeks before the election for a media campaign against Amendment 10.

The memo, which was leaked to the press, warned that letting people vote on nuclear blasting might lead to sim-

ilar controls over "strip mining of coal, coal gasification, certain types of oil shale development and any other type of resource development with environmental impact."

The memo asserted that "ballot box legislation on technical, complex matters such as this actually constitutes a threat to representative government."

Responding to this memo, Nora Danielson declared, "These giant corporations have inadvertently revealed their utter contempt for working people and for democracy. They think we aren't competent to decide on 'complex' questions like whether the state should be honeycombed with nuclear explosions.

"The same view is echoed by the Democratic and Republican politicians. Pat Schroeder, the prominent liberal Democratic congresswoman from Colorado, is not supporting Amendment 10," Danielson said.

"A spokesperson in Schroeder's office told me that Schroeder 'sympathizes with Amendment 10, but she thinks that it is unconstitutional.'"

"I believe that it is precisely working people who are the *most* competent and have the *most* right to make these decisions," Danielson asserted.

"Our lives are at stake. The AEC and the energy monopolies cannot be trusted to safeguard our health and environment, because their only concern is to rake in the highest possible profit."

"In order for these resources to be developed and energy provided on the basis of human need rather than the profits of the rich," she concluded, "the SWP calls for the entire energy industry to be nationalized and run under the control of the workers."

Socialist hits cover-up of Kent State killings

By MELISSA SINGLER

CLEVELAND—A banquet here Oct. 19 in support of the Ohio Socialist Workers Party ticket climaxed a fall of active campaigning that has taken the candidates to all corners of the state.

The featured speaker was Nancy Brown, SWP candidate for governor. Brown spoke on the recent opening of the trial of eight National Guardsmen charged in the killing of four students at Kent State in May 1970.

Brown pointed to the role of her opponents, Democratic incumbent John Gilligan and Republican James Rhodes, in the Kent State massacre and the persistent efforts to cover up the truth about the killings.

"Rhodes was governor of Ohio at the time of the massacre and was

responsible for ordering the Guard onto the campus," Brown said. "Gilligan was governor after Rhodes and helped keep the murders under a tight lid. To now be given a choice of one or the other in the election is to be given no choice at all."

Also speaking was Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee, who spoke on the racist antibusing drive in Boston and the need for national protests against it. In response to a fund appeal by Dixon, the 85 campaign supporters present pledged \$3,600 to the Ohio campaign.

Mary Zins, coordinator of the Young Socialists for Nancy Brown, told the banquet audience about the impressive scope of the 1974 Ohio socialist campaign.

With two weeks of campaigning still ahead, she reported, 100,000 SWP platforms have been distributed and 1,150 people have signed cards endorsing the SWP slate.

The candidates and other campaign spokespeople have addressed meetings all over the state, including Cincinnati, Columbus, Bowling Green, Toledo, Akron, and Cleveland. The fact that the SWP won statewide ballot status for the first time in Ohio has been a significant boost to campaigning.

During the tour by the Young Socialists for Nancy Brown team, 25 people decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

The socialist candidates have made a special effort to reach trade unionists. On Oct. 8, Brown spoke to a meeting of the Cincinnati Federa-

tion of Teachers. Many of those present bought copies of *The Militant* and asserted they would never have voted to endorse Gilligan, the Democrat, if they had known his true stand on labor in Ohio.

Bernie Senter, SWP congressional candidate and a member of the meatcutters union, was introduced and distributed literature at a meeting of the Meatcutters Active Political Club.

Herman Kirsch, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor, distributed campaign platforms and sold *Militants* to steelworkers going into their local union meeting. Kirsch found many steelworkers were interested in the socialist answer to inflation.

When Gilligan appeared at the Cleveland Federation of Labor, SWP candidate

Continued on page 26

Seattle candidate fights for free speech

By GARY JOHNSON

SEATTLE—On Oct. 26 the Seattle police broke up a socialist campaign street rally in the downtown area and arrested Jeff Ford, Socialist Workers Party candidate for King County prosecutor.

Three cops approached Ford as he was speaking at the first of three scheduled rallies. He was told that he would have to stop because he needed a permit to use sound equipment. They left after issuing a warning, but returned a few minutes later when Ford continued speaking.

The cops put Ford up against the car, frisked and handcuffed him, confiscated the sound equipment, and carted him off to jail. After an hour of indecision, the cops did not book

Ford, but issued a citation and released him.

Ford and other SWP candidates have been holding these rallies for five weeks. During the second week's rally they were told by a cop that a "citizen's complaint" had been lodged and that if they were to continue the rally they would need a "street use permit."

For the next five days campaign workers were given a bureaucratic runaround by the police department as they tried to obtain a permit. Finally reaching Assistant Chief of Police Bud Banderwyer, they were told that the law does require a permit, but—Catch 22—it was no longer police policy to issue permits to political groups.

Banderwyer stated that his men

would not bother the socialist campaigners unless someone complained. During the entire afternoon that Ford was in jail, the cops made no mention of a complaint.

The Socialist Workers Party is trying to win public support for its candidates' right to free speech. Ford has demanded that his Democratic and Republican opponents, Chris Bayley and Ed Heavy, join in defending democratic rights.

So far Heavy's office has not responded. Bayley, the incumbent county prosecutor, claims that as a candidate he can't comment because the arrest is a "legal" matter.

Ford said he would be back on the streets Nov. 2 to assert his right to speak.

'She is with us every day'

Dist. 1 militants back Sojourner campaign

By CRAIG GANNON

NEW YORK—"My name is Lillian Mojica. Every day we come to work at Socialist Workers '74. My brother and sister and me come at 10 on Saturday. On other days we come at three or four because we go to school. All I can say is we love Socialist Workers '74."

A sixth grader at Public School 63 taped this note to the Socialist Workers Party storefront campaign office in Manhattan's Lower East Side.

Lillian is one of a number of young students who are helping distribute SWP campaign literature and put up posters throughout their community.

A button that reads, "Community Control of Schools in District 1—Vote Socialist Workers—Katherine Sojourner for Congress 18th C.D." is being worn by people throughout the district at picket lines and boycott meetings.

The storefront office, while serving as the distribution center for thousands of pieces of bilingual campaign literature, has also become a gathering place for activists in the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese community's struggle for control of the schools in District 1.

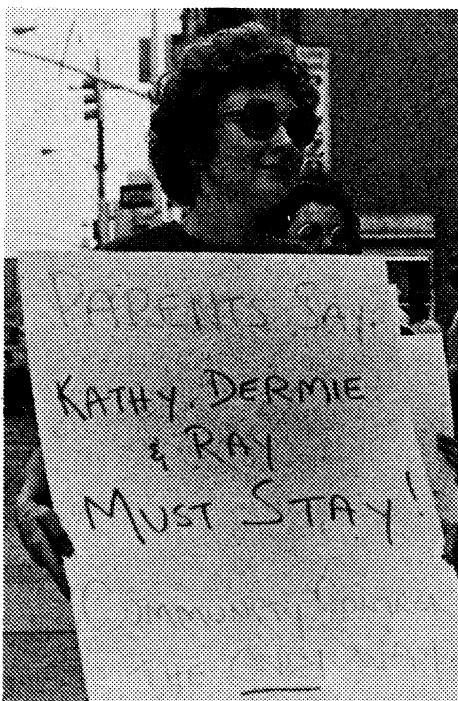
The Socialist Workers campaign committee and the Young Socialist Alliance have also organized classes on socialism every Saturday afternoon after the day's campaigning.

The growing support for Sojourner's candidacy was reflected at an Oct. 19 campaign banquet. A crowd of 215 people attended, including 40 District 1 parents, bilingual teachers and paraprofessionals, and parent-supported school board members and candidates.

Keynote speakers were Katherine Sojourner and SWP gubernatorial candidate Derrick Morrison, who gave a firsthand account of the school desegregation struggle in Boston.

Three leaders of the community struggle in District 1 also addressed the gathering. The first was Miriam Gonzales, co-president of the P.S. 188 Parents Association and president of the Presidents Council of the Parents Associations.

"Why has a school district so small caused the biggest headache?" she asked. "Well, parents have had a chance to see what community control was like under Luis Fuentes [the parent-supported school superintendent,



Militant/Mike Baumann
Katherine Sojourner has won respect for her active role in community struggle.

fired in August by the racist majority of the community school board], and suddenly this has been taken away from us. Our basic rights have been taken away.

"They thought if they got rid of Mr. Fuentes, his staff and appointees, we would have no one to follow. But we are not going away and we will not be quiet either. We are pro-Fuentes because he is pro-parent," Gonzales said.

The next speaker was José Luis Rodriguez, the parent-chosen principal of P.S. 34, who had been fired just the day before as part of the school board's purge of procommunity administrators and staff. The reading scores at P.S. 34 had gone up for the first time in years while Rodriguez was principal.

"I consider myself a target," Rodriguez said, "not because of personal positions I have taken to the UFT [United Federation of Teachers, whose leadership has spearheaded the attacks against the community] or the school board, but because I represent the right of parents to select the best person to run their school. For that reason I accept the support of the parents, not for me as a person, but for their right to choose."

"We feel that as a party, you [the SWP] have been very instrumental in

providing help to the parents of P.S. 34 and the entire district," Rodriguez continued. "Not only am I grateful, but I think the parents are grateful and they recognize the work you have done."

"To illustrate this I would like to tell you a conversation I had the other day with one of the parents, a mother. She said, 'Katherine invited me to some classes they are having at the storefront on socialism. I told my husband and he said that is communism, the policeman is going to get you. But I am going anyway. She is a person who is with us every day, and they are going to teach us something. I don't think there is anything wrong with going and seeing what they are teaching.'"

The third speaker was Georgina Hoggard, one of the four parent-chosen members of the community school board. She said, "I think this is a special place. The people are honest and sincere and what we see in District 1 is these people supporting us on an everyday basis. That is the only way I judge people—when I see them on an everyday basis struggling with us."

Hoggard continued, "Many times I feel very low and depressed, I don't think there is any hope, and I turn around and see people like Katherine, and our spirits come up again. I hope this continues in District 1."

Greetings were sent to the banquet from Luis Fuentes. Support for the campaign was also expressed by striking workers from the Macmillan publishing house.

Katherine Sojourner described the most recent developments in District 1 and linked these to the racist mob violence against desegregation in Boston. The U.S. government, she explained, refuses to provide the money needed for decent schools and is determined to prevent the oppressed minority communities from gaining control over their schools.

"The same people being hit by attacks against their children," Sojourner said, "are also being driven into the unemployment lines, forced to pay higher rents and food prices, forced to live in unheated firetraps, forced to do without child care. In short, they are being forced to pay the price of a system called capitalism."

Sojourner detailed the role of the Democratic and Republican politicians, who refuse to stand up for the District 1 parents or the Boston Black community. She concluded:

"I hope you will get involved in the Socialist Workers Party campaign. Unlike the Democrats and Republicans, there are no slum landlords in our campaign committee. There are no jail wardens. There are no millionaire corporation presidents. There are no George Wallaces and no Lester Maddoxes."

The SWP's members and supporters, she said, are the men and women who are fighting against all forms of oppression and exploitation. "These fighters know that there is one party that sees the essential importance of uncompromising support to the mass struggles of the oppressed—and that is the Socialist Workers Party."



Militant/Jeannie Reynolds
Georgina Hoggard addresses District 1 protest. She and other activists attended SWP campaign banquet.

Ore. socialist candidates confront opponents

By ERIC BERMAN

PORLAND, Ore.—Sixty-eight people attended the Socialist Workers Party campaign banquet here Oct. 19, a highlight of the most successful so-

cialist election campaign in recent Oregon history.

Fred Halstead, SWP candidate for president in 1968, was the featured speaker.

Halstead told the enthusiastic crowd that "the people who own and control this country are in trouble. They can no longer convince the masses of working people to sacrifice in order to keep up the profits of big business. They can no longer convince us that we must send American troops to die wherever U.S. corporations are threatened."

In response to an appeal for funds from John Studer and Stacey Seigle, SWP candidates for U.S. Senate and for governor, campaign supporters contributed \$1,237 to finance the final two weeks of intensive campaigning. Two people decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance after the banquet.

The SWP candidates have been interviewed on every major television

station in Portland. By Nov. 5 they will have appeared either alone or in debates on more than four hours of air time.

Every broadcast has prompted a series of calls to the campaign headquarters with requests for more information, especially on how to write in the socialist candidates on the ballot.

Seigle and Studer, along with Robin Mace, SWP congressional candidate, and Caroline Fowlkes, candidate for state labor commissioner, will appear with their opponents on KPTV, Channel 12, on Nov. 3 at 8:30 p.m.

Mace and Seigle confronted their Democratic and Republican opponents in public debates at Portland State University last month. The debates were sponsored by Choice 74, a nonpartisan campus group.

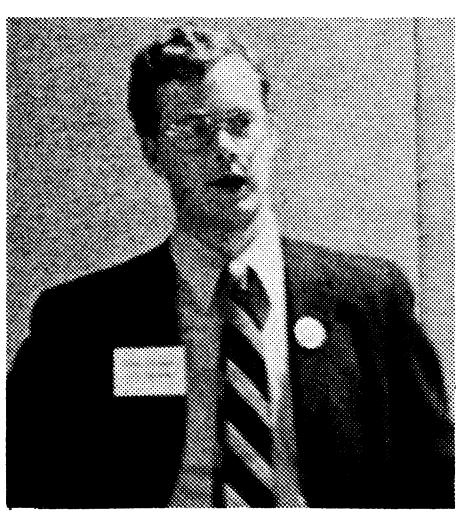
The congressional candidates debate focused on inflation. The Oct. 9 *Oregon Journal*, Portland's afternoon

daily, reported that Mace challenged the views of Democrat Les Aucoin and Republican Diarmuid O'Scannlain by pointing out that "the real economic culprit is not the paltry millions spent on health, education and welfare. Rather it is the \$84 billion military budget the government spends to prop up dictators and to police the world."

The socialist candidates have also spoken at 10 high schools, Portland Community College-Sylvania, Lewis and Clark College, Reed College, University of Oregon at Eugene, and Oregon State University at Corvallis.

The student body presidents of Portland State University, Lewis and Clark, and PCC-Sylvania have endorsed the SWP slate.

An election night celebration will be held Nov. 5 at the campaign headquarters in Portland, 208 S.W. Stark, Room 501, beginning at 8 p.m.



John Studer, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Oregon.

Union support is step forward for Texas Raza Unida Party

By HARRY RING

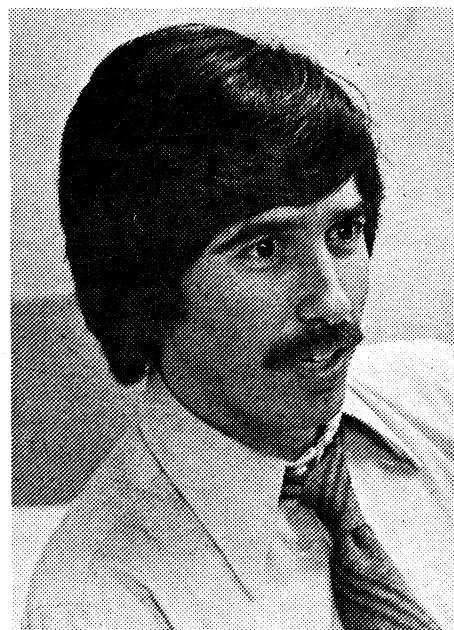
SAN ANTONIO, Tex.—La Raza Unida Party (RUP) has broken some new ground in the Texas elections this fall. Built initially in Crystal City, a small, largely Chicano town in south-central Texas, the independent Chicano party developed its main base of support in the towns and rural areas nearby. San Antonio was perhaps the only large city with an active RUP.

With the 1972 Raza Unida gubernatorial campaign by Ramsey Muñiz, the party began to gain adherents elsewhere in the state. In the present election, in addition to the second bid for governor by Muñiz and local campaigns in south Texas, the party is running effective campaigns for the state legislature in four urban areas—Houston, Austin, San Antonio, and Corpus Christi.

In Houston the RUP is running María Jiménez for state representative in the 87th district. According to reports, her campaign represents the most extensive effort by the party in that city to date.

In the Corpus Christi-Robstown area, the RUP is running Dr. Jorge Treviño for the legislature. Treviño is a mathematician and engineer and a professor at Del Mar College. An early activist in La Raza Unida, his academic credentials have added weight to his campaign, and he is expected to win a good vote.

The campaign of Daniel Meza here in San Antonio is particularly interesting. District 57-J, covering San Antonio's main barrio, is currently rep-



Raza Unida Party candidates Armando Gutierrez (left) from Austin and Daniel Meza from San Antonio.

III against Hernández, and Peña won 35 percent of the vote. Meza was campaign manager in that election, and he began mapping strategy for the next RUP bid soon after.

Meza has solicited support from various unions for his campaign. The labor record of his opponent has facilitated this. The Farah Company has two plants in San Antonio. During the Farah strike, unionists charge, Hernández refused their request to publicly support the Farah workers. It is also charged that Hernández, who is an attorney, has represented companies against unions. It is even alleged that he made scabs available in a strike here.

Like most labor bodies, the unions here have generally supported Democrats, and even though a number of unions are predominantly Chicano, the RUP previously did not get much union backing.

In Meza's campaign a good beginning is being made.

The San Antonio district of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which organized Farah, has endorsed Meza's campaign. The union has 1,300 members, mainly Chicanos.

Meza has also been endorsed by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters local, which has 800 members. Franklin Garcia, an organizer for the Meat Cutters, is actively supporting Meza's campaign. (Meza's father is a member of the local.)

Several locals of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers are supporting Meza, as are the Service Employees' International Union and the Retail Clerks.

If he does beat the odds and win the first RUP seat in the state house of representatives, I asked, how would he feel about being a minority of one in the legislature?

"That's no problem," he responded. "I'm used to being in a minority."

In Austin, Dr. Armando Gutiérrez, RUP candidate for state representative, is confident that he will make a good showing and, equally important, that the campaign is establishing La Raza Unida Party in Austin.

A professor of government at the University of Texas, Gutiérrez, 26, is a relative newcomer to the RUP. He told *The Militant* that he had been active in the Chicano movement earlier, but got with the RUP in 1972 when he supported Muñiz for governor.

His understanding of the party at that time was much more elementary than today, he said. "I recognized that the Democrats and Republicans didn't represent the interest of the Chicanos," he said, "but I pretty much saw La

SWP's disclosure challenge heard in Calif. court

By MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

LOS ANGELES—The Socialist Workers Party's challenge to the California campaign finance disclosure law was heard in superior court here Oct. 24.

Judge Campbell Lucas rejected government motions to dismiss, but refused to issue the preliminary injunction against enforcement of the law sought by the Socialist Workers campaign committee. The SWP is challenging the constitutionality of the law requiring disclosure of its campaign contributors.

Attorney Mark Rosenbaum of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), representing the Socialist Workers campaign, announced plans to appeal the court's denial of the preliminary injunction.

A last-minute development was the intervention of Common Cause, the so-called citizens' lobby, which delivereded a lengthy legal brief on behalf of the government less than 24 hours before the hearing.

Attorney Rosenbaum protested this extraordinary procedure, but the two attorneys Common Cause had flown in from Washington, D.C., were nevertheless permitted to take part in the hearing.

They gave the impression at this hearing of being on a national crusade against the SWP's request for exemption from disclosure requirements. Attorney Kenneth Guido made a point of insisting on Common Cause's right to cross-examine anyone who had submitted an affidavit on FBI harassment or surveillance.

Arguing to have the case dismissed, Deputy Secretary of State Daniel Lowenstein stated: "Even assuming the worst results in the world, assuming that harassment does result and that persons are discouraged from contributing to this campaign, even then the law would remain constitutional, because of the overriding state and public interest in disclosure."

Lowenstein tried to suggest that the SWP's request for exemption was based on some vague concept of "unpopularity."

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Militant/Shelby Harris
SWP gubernatorial candidate Olga Rodriguez said disclosure law would mean victimization of her supporters.



Militant/Don Sorsa
Raza Unida candidates and supporters were active in Austin protest against police terror.

resented in the state legislature by Joe Hernández, a Mexican-American Democrat who, in a two-year term, has widely discredited himself in the district and among San Antonio unionists as well.

Meza is Hernández's sole opponent. The RUP candidate opened his campaign a year ago and has been ringing doorbells in the district ever since. He is getting a good response in the district and—in a new development—has won the endorsement of a number of trade unions.

It is generally agreed that Meza, a 27-year-old educational counselor at San Antonio Junior College, will get a big vote. At least one writer in the San Antonio daily press estimated that an upset victory by the RUP nominee is not precluded.

At Meza's campaign headquarters I talked with the candidate, with his wife and campaign coordinator, Choco Meza, and with José Luis Rodríguez, county chairman of the RUP and publisher of the *Chicano Times*. They all feel Meza has a chance of winning.

In 1972 the RUP ran Albert Peña

Largest independence action in U.S.

20,000 demand: Free Puerto Rico now!

By SAM MANUEL

NEW YORK—The largest action ever held in the United States in support of Puerto Rican independence took place here Oct. 27 when 20,000 people filled Madison Square Garden for a four-hour rally. The majority of participants were young Puerto Ricans who came from many cities throughout the U.S. and Puerto Rico. Each paid \$3 for admission.

Spirits were high during the entire rally with cheers, foot stomping, and applause interrupting many of the speakers and entertainers. As the rally began, chants of "Viva Puerto Rico! Qué Viva!" resounded throughout the auditorium. There were huge banners saying "Free Puerto Rico Now!" "Viva Puerto Rico Libre!" and "Independencia Ya, Socialismo Ahora!" (Independence Now, Socialism Now).

The rally was called last May by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee and cosponsored by scores of organizations and individuals. The national board of the Solidarity Day Committee included, among others, Ramón Arbona, Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Bert Corona, CASA (Hermanidad General de Trabajadores); Clyde Bellecourt, American Indian Movement; David Dellinger, *Liberation* magazine; Irwin Silber, *Guardian*; and Cora Weiss, Women Strike for Peace.

The principal speaker at the rally was Juan Mari Bras, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Speaking in Spanish, he pointed out that the present growth of the Puerto Rican independence movement comes at a time when U.S. imperialism is "on the defensive."

"Its defeat in Korea, Cuba, and Vietnam signal the accelerated pace of that fall," he said. "The inclusion of Guinea-Bissau among the sovereign nations of the world represents a great victory in the anticolonial struggles in Africa and the rest of the world."

He also described how U.S. imperialism exploits and dominates Puerto Rico, and he sharply criticized Puerto Rican capitalist politicians as "a clique of lackeys."

The proindependence leader ended with an appeal for continued support to the independence struggle. "We express to you, to all of you gathered



Puerto Rican flag at Madison Square Garden rally

here, representatives of all nationalities and corners of America and the world—gathered here today in this great manifestation of support for Puerto Rico—a greeting of solidarity, the fervent gratitude and unbreakable commitment of a Puerto Rico in struggle, that—with your increasing solidarity and that of so many other thousands of friends of our cause here and throughout the world—we will march forward to the achievement of our immediate goal: the proclamation of the independence of Puerto Rico. . . ."

Geraldo Rivera, a well-known television reporter in New York City, drew boos when he said, "There was a time when I believed Puerto Rico should continue association with the United States."

But when he went on to explain that "I have changed my ideas," he was applauded. He said that he now understands "that certain things were more important or equally as important as the economy—our souls, our pride as a community. Now I believe that to protect our identity as Puerto Ricans, we have to enter the family of nations."

The crowd came to its feet when Russell Means and other members of the American Indian Movement approached the platform singing native American songs and beating a ceremonial drum. Means explained that "the Indian had made only one mis-

take—when we discovered Columbus."

His appeal for solidarity with the Wounded Knee defendants again brought cheers and raised fists.

Some of the other speakers and entertainers were actress Jane Fonda; Angela Davis, Communist Party; Corky Gonzales, Crusade for Justice; Owusu Sadaukai, former chairman of the African Liberation Support Committee; Irwin Silber, *Guardian*; and Pedro Albizu Meneses, son of the famous Puerto Rican nationalist leader Pedro Albizu Campos.

Piri Thomas, one of the best-known Puerto Rican writers and author of the autobiographical *Down These Mean Streets*, was one of the masters of ceremonies.

Over the speakers platform in the center of the arena hung large pictures of five Puerto Rican nationalist political prisoners held in U.S. prisons. The five are Lolita Lebrón, Irving Flores, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, Oscar Collazo, and Rafael Cancel Miranda.

The massive turnout was the result of large-scale distribution of literature and poster paste-ups. Hundreds of people joined in this effort and support committees were organized in many cities and campuses. The significance of this activity can be measured by the fact that the capitalist news media virtually blacked out all advance coverage of the event. Even on the day of the action, they gave

scanty coverage to the massive rally.

Instead, banner headlines, long articles, and considerable radio and television time were devoted to reporting a terrorist bombing attack on Oct. 26, allegedly carried out by a Puerto Rican nationalist organization called the Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation (FALN). The bombings damaged banks and other financial offices in New York City.

According to the Oct. 26 *New York Post*, a woman called the *Associated Press* just after the bombings and identified herself as a member of the FALN. "We have just bombed imperialist banks. Free all Puerto Rican prisoners," she reportedly said.

She indicated that a letter had been left in a phone booth. This letter, signed by the "Central Command" of the FALN, said, "Today, commando units of FALN attacked major yanki corporations in New York City. These actions have been taken in commemoration of the October 30, 1950, uprising in Puerto Rico against yanki colonial domination. . . .

"We have opened two fronts, one in Puerto Rico and the other in the United States. . . ."

When reporters questioned Juan Mari Bras about the terrorist actions, after the huge turnout at Madison Square Garden, he replied, "I don't know whether these bombs reported in the press were part of this diverse

Continued on page 26

Students demand Puerto Rican studies control

By IZABELLA LISTOPAD

NEW YORK—The Brooklyn College campus has been shaken by more than a week of protest sparked by demands of Puerto Rican students and faculty for control over the administration of the Puerto Rican studies department. The protests culminated Oct. 25 with a rally of 2,000 persons.

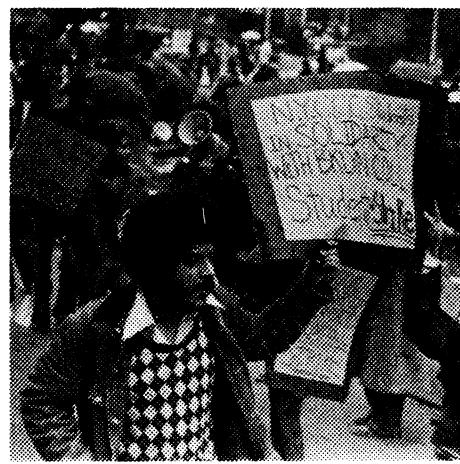
At the center of the fight is the decision on who will be the new chairperson of the department. A search committee set up by the administration voted to hire Maria Sanchez, a current faculty member who has the overwhelming support of students and teachers and the unanimous backing of the Puerto Rican studies department.

However, college president John Kneller ignored the decision of the search committee and appointed Elba Lugo as chairwoman of the department.

The Oct. 25 rally was the central activity of a one-day student strike called by the Brooklyn College student government in support of the appointment of Sanchez. The strike came after several days of protest initiated primarily by Puerto Rican students

and joined by hundreds of other students and many campus organizations.

The announcement of Kneller's appointment of Lugo prompted a four-day sit-in that began Oct. 18 in the president's office and moved to the office of the registrar in Boylan Hall. On Oct. 23 a rally of 500 people assembled on the steps of Boylan Hall to demand that Sanchez be hired.



Militant/Derrick Morrison

Brooklyn College struggle has received support from Black and Puerto Rican students at other schools.

On the same day the student government called for the strike and hundreds of students began churning out leaflets, painting banners, and organizing other strike activity. Both the student government office and the office of the Puerto Rican studies department became organizing centers for the strike.

At 4:30 the next morning, sheriff's deputies and hundreds of cops moved onto the campus to break up the sit-in. Forty-one students and three faculty members were arrested. Five hundred students attended an emergency rally at noon on the steps of Boylan Hall to protest the arrests. The 44 were given 60-day suspended sentences.

The Oct. 25 rally of 2,000 was co-chaired by Paul Kaddish, representing the student government, and Eleidi Cortés, representing the Puerto Rican students, who led a loud chant of "Sanchez Si! Lugo No!" as the rally opened.

Other speakers included attorney Conrad Lynn; a representative of the Congress of African People; José Luis Rodríguez, a Puerto Rican principal recently fired by the racist majority on the local school board in Man-

hattan's school District 1; and José Lee Medinas, president of the FUPI (Federación de Universitarios Pro-Independencia—Federation of University Students for Independence), who had come to New York from Puerto Rico to attend the Oct. 27 Puerto Rican Solidarity Day rally in Madison Square Garden.

He stated, "We, the students of Puerto Rico, have been struggling for the same rights and demands that you are struggling for at Brooklyn College."

Many representatives of campus organizations also spoke, including the Young Socialist Alliance, the Haitian Student Club, the Caribbean student group, the Umoja Society, the Italian-American Student Organization, the Brooklyn College Dance Group, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization.

Robb Wright of the Brooklyn College YSA told the crowd it was the power of mass rallies and demonstrations that could force Kneller to back down. He urged students already active in the struggle to reach out to the thousands not yet involved.

A 'stacked' rally?

The massive rally in Madison Square Garden on Oct. 27 was an effective expression of opposition to U.S. imperialist domination of Puerto Rico. A measure of its success was the capitalist news media's hostility to it. Especially outrageous was the treatment by the editors of the *New York Times*, who not only blacked out advance coverage of the action, but tried to link it to terrorist bombings and generally belittle the significance of the rally and the importance of the independence struggle.

In an Oct. 28 editorial, they charged that "it is doubtless frustration at their inability to persuade fellow Puerto Ricans in open debate at home that provokes extremist groups to resort to such tactics as bombings and carefully-stacked independence rallies in New York."

Who "stacked" it? Who are the masters of stagecraft that whipped together the largest action in support of Puerto Rico's independence ever held in the United States? Do the *Times* editors think the participants were paid or maybe even ordered to come? They don't say. Innuendos, not facts, are good enough for them.

The truth is that this massive rally was "stacked" by hundreds of young people who took to the streets to distribute leaflets, paste up posters, sell tickets, and organize buses. And those who attended paid \$3 each to get in.

And what facts do the *Times* editors offer to show that the sentiment for independence is insignificant—so insignificant that it leads to "frustration"?

They point out that the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) polled only 4 percent of the votes in the 1972 elections and "independence" won less than 1 percent of the vote in a 1967 referendum on Puerto Rico's relationship to the U.S.

But these election statistics don't tell the real story of the growing independence sentiment. For one thing, the PIP is only one among many proindependence organizations in Puerto Rico. Many *independistas* did not participate in the 1972 election and some actively boycotted it.

The 1967 figure is worth even less. Fewer than 50 percent of Puerto Rico's qualified voters even voted in the plebiscite. The *independistas* organized an effective boycott and mass actions against the plebiscite and for independence. Even though only 4,248 people voted for independence, proindependence rallies of 10,000 and 30,000 were held on April 16 and July 4 leading up to the July 23 plebiscite.

These actions expressed far more accurately the growing sympathy for independence than the election figures, which are usually a conservative gauge of political development.

Proindependence sentiment has deepened in recent years. This was reflected in the mass antidraft movement during the Vietnam war, when thousands of Puerto Rican youth refused to be inducted into the U.S. Army. More recently, a mass movement has arisen, demanding a stop to U.S. target practice on Culebra.

But trying to disparage the size and significance of the Madison Square Garden rally isn't enough for the editors of the *Times*. They try to smear it by linking it to terrorist bombings that took place the day before.

For the *Times* to attack any section of the proindependence movement as violent is pure hypocrisy, since it supports the colonial relationship that is responsible for the violent repression and exploitation of the Puerto Rican people.

From the standpoint of the proindependence movement and those in this country who support it, the series of bombings, carried out by a small handful of persons, was a grave disservice. It was not effective in helping to win broader support to the struggle for Puerto Rican independence. On the contrary, it unnecessarily gave the capitalist rulers an opening to smear the genuinely mass action at Madison Square Garden and try to discredit it in the eyes of millions of American people.

Groups organized to carry out individual acts of terror or sabotage are also easy prey for agents provocateurs. In fact, it's possible that government provocateurs were involved in the New York bombings.

But the *Times'* lies, slanders, and innuendos are not going to prevail. The Madison Square Garden rally was too big, too successful, and involved too many people for its impact to be smeared out of existence. It points the way to even greater support in the U.S. for a free Puerto Rico.

Excellent Boston coverage

As you know I subscribe regularly to *The Militant* and I continue to be impressed by the high quality of journalism therein displayed.

I take this opportunity to commend the staff for the excellent coverage of the tragedy of South Boston. It is regrettable that the majority of the media have chosen to minimize the seriousness of that grievous situation.

Thanks again for keeping me informed.

Louis Stokes
Member of Congress
Washington, D.C.

Cannon fund

Enclosed is my check to the Cannon fund. I have to tell you that never in my life have I felt so inspired by signing a check!

James Cannon's writings are what brought me out of the darkness of being a reactionary, religious product of the South, to the vision and ranks of the dream that was Cannon's—the party and the people who will help make a new world. I'm glad I can help in this way.

C.F.
Portland, Ore.

Cannon fund II

Enclosed please find a check made out as a contribution to the James P. Cannon Fund.

Not wishing to mutilate my *Militant*, I am not using the form for the purpose of selecting my free copy of a Cannon publication. I should like to have *Speeches for Socialism*. In our era of mass recognition of the evils of capitalism, there is much need for this kind of publication of basic solutions. Maybe I can spread it around a little.

R.S.
Sellersville, Pa.

Gay liberation

I have noticed during the past several years that *The Militant* occasionally reports on the gay liberation struggle—not often, but enough to indicate your general support. These articles are few and far between; this does little to strengthen support among gays for the revolutionary movement.

Unless you can deny that gays are an oppressed minority in American society, and unless you can deny that they should play a significant role in the coming socialist revolution, then the only remedy for the past de-emphasis on gay liberation in *The Militant* is the institution of a regular gay column.

Rudy Harner
Charlottesville, Va.

Best wishes

I believe I have gotten some subscribers to *The Militant* by leaving copies in front of lodge halls and in phone booths. I am on Social Security, which doesn't go far, but here is a dollar to help pay postage. Best wishes to all the staff.

C.G.
Fremont, Ohio

From Japan

Since last year in South Korea there have been a variety of courageous anti-Park and anti-Japan movements spreading out among the Korean people. The pent-up agony and anger of the Korean people first burst into flames with the movement started by Seoul University students just one year ago. The struggle against the oppressor and its puppet spread all over the country, and in spite of Park's hysterical repression the struggle has continued among students, intellectuals, and religious groups.

In Japan too, Korean residents and the progressive Japanese organized a supporting movement in response to the heroic struggle of their comrades in the Korean peninsula.

Our duty is to organize a wider front to support the anti-Park and anti-Japan struggle of the Korean people. That is to support Korean residents in Japan on the one hand, and on the other hand to attack the racial exclusionism that is spreading even among the left wing.

South Korea is a keystone for Japanese imperialism, which is attempting aggression in Southeast Asia. So it is the same for us. We have to join the anti-Park and anti-Japan movement of the Korean people in order to crush the ambition of Japanese imperialism to invade Southeast Asian countries.

Down with U.S.-Japan-Park's counterrevolutionary alliance!

Prevent Ford's visit to Japan and the Republic of Korea!

Long live the solidarity of the oppressed people all over the world!
Michihiro Sasaki for the central committee of the Dohgakkai, Student Autonomy of Kyoto University
Kyoto, Japan

Women's studies center

I am working with Northern Illinois University's Women's Studies Center. Many of the women here have already recognized the contradictions in capitalist society, but they are looking for a perspective.

The Militant, I think, would be most helpful to these women. It has the best analysis of the women's movement, and all the struggles toward liberation.

For that reason, I am asking you to send the center a one-year subscription. Enclosed please find a check.

K.J.
DeKalb, Ill.

Great to be back

Having moved from Ann Arbor to Ford country recently, I had been feeling somewhat downhearted. Until one day I ran across the Michigan-Indiana Young Socialist team, that is. I enjoyed being in the company of fellow socialists again, and it also gave me an easy chance to renew my *Militant* and *International Socialist Review* subscriptions.

It's great to be back! *The Militant* is the best radical paper around. Keep it up.

Maureen Michael
Grand Rapids, Mich.

Frank Lovell



'Clean your plate'

Nothing can make clearer where Ford and Company are coming from than the statements Ford made when outlining his "whip inflation" plan. One in particular ought to serve as a perfect reminder to millions of working people in this country that he is and always was a member of that ruling layer of this society that lives in oversupply rather than want: He stated earnestly that the first words he remembered hearing in his home were "Clean off your plate."

As long as it is this greedy group of people that tells the rest of us to "tighten our belts" there can be no solution to inflation, unemployment, ad nauseum. As Debby Bustin said, socialist ideas are indeed having a greater believability—"now more than ever."

Erin Molenaar
Seattle, Wash.

Prisoners column

I am one of the two remaining Leavenworth Brothers who await trial stemming from the July 1973 rebellion. I personally would like to see a small column on prisoners in your paper because I feel it would be in the best interests of the overall struggle.

We prisoners are a reflection of oppressed people, who are the people your publication represents. I might add that each prison has a horror story to share of what goes on in their yard, which the public should be kept up on.

A prisoner
Kansas

On education

Until recently, the children of the poor and the powerless were looked on as biological "garbage." Today, however, educators argue that "socioeconomic conditions" prevent poor children from learning. In other words, they have now become sociological "garbage."

But let some teacher succeed with a class of ghetto children and they will hound him out of school. That one success would destroy in a flash the whole foundation of lies on which the schools rest.

Is it any wonder that so many children never learn to read, or that so many of our schools are run like jails?

The conclusion is clear: The only way our educators will recognize their responsibility to the children is for them to be made directly responsible to the citizens of each community. The citizens of every local in America should run their own schools.

J.C.A.
New York, N.Y.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Shanker & racism in the schools

A report by New York City Human Rights Commissioner Eleanor Holmes Norton says racial clashes in the city's high schools are "virtually predictable."

Norton says she hopes New York will not have to learn the lessons of integration the way Boston has, but there is little to indicate that school authorities in New York City are less bigoted than those in Boston or more willing to improve the quality of education.

The Norton report recommends a few palliatives such as workshops to make teachers more sensitive to minority needs, and special orientation guidance for Black and Puerto Rican students who are bused into formerly all-white districts.

Racism does not begin in the schools. It is a permanent feature of capitalist society. It is aggravated now by the economic crisis, which is grinding against the poor of all races.

This prompts demands in every community for better education. Parents hope their children can get a better chance in this harsh and competitive society. But the schools everywhere are deteriorating, not improving.

Parents in school districts where the standard of education is lowest—those districts where Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans live—are demanding control of the schools, more money to operate them, and the hiring of teachers who are sympathetic to their problems.

Unfortunately the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) leadership, under the control of Albert Shanker, is vehemently opposed to community control of schools in Black, Puerto Rican, and other ghetto districts. When parents have tried to elect their own representatives to local school boards, the UFT has poured money and organizers into the campaign to defeat them.

Of course, Shanker is not opposed to community control of predominantly white districts, and he goes along with segregationist sentiments like those of many white parents in Boston.

Shanker's thoughts are printed at union expense every Sunday in a *New York Times* advertisement. His Oct. 20 column is devoted to a favorite Shanker

theme—a tirade against the use of hiring quotas to increase the number of Black teachers.

Shanker, who takes pride in his background as a philosophy student, spends half his column arguing that it is a purely arbitrary decision who is Black. He approvingly quotes from an article in the *National Review* that asked, "How does anyone, anywhere, know who is black, or who is white, or who is whatever?"

After dispensing with the oppression of Blacks by this simple sleight of hand, Shanker informs us: "The clear intent of the 14th Amendment was to end racial discrimination. If the 14th Amendment is to be adhered to, racial discrimination and racial preference must give way to racial equality." Thus, Shanker would have us believe, hiring quotas are "discriminatory" and wrong.

The fact is that there is no racial equality in this society. That is why the parents of Black and other minority students are forced to wage such bitter struggles to get more minority teachers into the schools, and why quotas are needed to *enforce real equality* in hiring.

Shanker tries to turn the Fourteenth Amendment into an endorsement of present discriminatory practices. His purpose is to maintain a job trust for high-seniority white teachers in the New York school system.

Cutbacks by the New York central school board have meant the firing of hundreds of teachers. Under Shanker's policies the UFT, instead of fighting these cutbacks, just tries to make sure they fall hardest on Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

This is what helps create the conditions that, as the Norton report says, make racial clashes "virtually predictable."

The teachers union could go a long way toward eliminating violence in the schools if it would stop cooperating with the racist school boards and instead join with the oppressed communities to fight for better schools.

But that will require wholehearted support to those communities' demands for more minority teachers and control over their own schools.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Blacks in the 'cradle of liberty'

BOSTON—The virulent racism that has surfaced here during the past few weeks in violent attacks on school desegregation has prompted more than a few observers to wonder aloud how such an ugly mess could occur in the "cradle of liberty."

After all, wasn't Boston the home of many abolitionists and the seat of antislavery movements? And wasn't it in 1855 that the state legislature passed a law prohibiting segregated schools, making Massachusetts the first state in the Union to do so? Isn't Massachusetts the first state since Reconstruction to send a Black person, Edward Brooke (R-Mass.), to the U.S. Senate?

Yes, that's all true. But for Black people in Boston, there's not much "liberty."

The public schools are still segregated, and the education and motivation that Black students get are pitiful indeed.

Comparative reading scores show that Black students on the average fall several grade levels behind white students. The odds against a Black student graduating from public school and going on to college are 12 times greater than those against a white student.

The criminal part is not just that Black students have been segregated, but that the entire school apparatus is discriminatory and larded with racism.

Black teachers are far fewer than what their numbers should be. Newly hired Black teachers report that they are not paid at the same scale as incoming white teachers. Blacks comprise 36 percent of public school students, yet only 18 out of 491 school administrators are Black—a paltry 3.5 percent.

But if the situation facing Black students sounds bad, the situation that Blacks as a whole face is even worse.

Black unemployment in 1973 was 12.5 percent in Boston, according to the Labor Department, almost twice the rate of white unemployment, 7.7 percent.

The median income for Blacks falls more than \$2,500 below the city-wide median. As a result, some 70 percent of families receiving public assistance are Black, although Blacks are only 17 percent of the city population.

Most Blacks in the city live in an area resembling a horseshoe around the city's largest park, Franklin Park. The area stretches from Jamaica Plain up through Roxbury and the South End and back down through North Dorchester and Mattapan. A pocket of Blacks also exists on Columbia Point.

To someone who has lived in the ghettos of New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore, housing in the Black community here would come as a surprise. You don't find block after block of rubble as in those cities. Many of the wood-frame and clapboard homes are walk-arounds and have driveways and tidy lawns that are bursting with autumn hues these days. But the housing image can be deceptive.

Population density is among the highest in these Black areas, and there is also more abandoned and ramshackle housing there than anywhere else in the city.

Just a short drive out from Dudley Square in the heart of Roxbury confirms the picture of oppression the statistics reveal on paper.

Men with the tired look of grinding poverty on their faces stand on the corners laughing and jiving to hide the pain. Teenagers swig from bottles wrapped in brown paper bags while women scurry from store to store seeking one good bargain for that last dollar. A message daubed on a wall on Warren Street exhorts: "Wake up, niggers, before it's too late."

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Surprisingly?—"NEW YORK—Surprisingly, over 60 percent of cash and equipment stolen from firms by employees is taken by supervisors and executives."—the Worcester Telegram.

Shop early for Xmas—Neiman-Marcus didn't build a better mousetrap, but the Texas store is offering a mouse ranch. Carefully sealed to size in a three-by-four-foot Lucite box, it includes tiny windmills, corrals, fences, feed containers, and two pastures for the mice to roam in. In place of a lasso, there are silver-plated tweezers.

The branding iron works, humanely, with indelible ink. Just \$3,500. Mice not included.

Progress report—California officials report progress is being made so rapidly in clearing the sewage out of San Francisco Bay that the quarantine on at least some of the shellfish beds will be lifted as early as 1983.

The silver lining—To underline that inflation isn't all bad, a Northwestern University biochemist reported that the human body is now worth about \$5.60. In 1969 if your body was

reduced to its chemicals you would have brought but \$3.50 on the open market and in 1936 only 98 cents.

Not on health?—At least 10 new cigarettes are being test-marketed. "The emphasis in new brands," the Wall Street Journal reports, "is on packaging."

How passionate can you get?—Malcolm Wilson, Nelson Rockefeller's successor as governor of New York, said that Rocky's gift of \$550,000 to William Ronan, head of the New York Port Authority, was a splendid exam-

ple of "what we talk about when we talk about love."

Neat and cozy—Rockefeller's \$150,000 gift to William Ronan when he assumed directorship of the New York Port Authority was particularly moving since he obviously expected nothing in return. True, Ronan did launch the project to build the giant World Trade Center in an area of downtown New York largely owned by Rocky's brother. And the good governor did rent a lot of office space there for state agencies. But all of that, clearly, was pure coincidence.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Christina Adachi for U.S. Senate

PITTSBURGH — A news conference was held here recently to announce the formation of Republicans and Democrats for Adachi.

Christina Adachi is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Pennsylvania. Republicans and Democrats for Adachi was formed by a group of prominent Pennsylvania Christina Adachi women who have thrown their support to Adachi primarily because of her active support for a woman's right to choose abortion.

Both of Adachi's opponents, incumbent Republican Richard Schweiker and Democratic Pittsburgh Mayor Pete Flaherty, are supporting reactionary legislation aimed at restricting the availability of abortions.

"Christina Adachi is a clear-cut choice for women and men in Pennsylvania. There can be no other," Ann Pride said at the news conference. Pride is a Republican and the state coordinator of the domestic relations task force for the National Organization for Women (NOW).

Dr. Jo-Ann Evans Gardner, former Republican



candidate for city council and National Women's Political Caucus advisory board member, told the media, "Christina Adachi is the only candidate for the U.S. Senate in Pennsylvania who represents the views of the majority in this matter."

Also appearing at the news conference were Mary Robison, former Democratic committeewoman and coordinator of Roman Catholics for the Right to Choose, and Christina Adachi.

I had the opportunity to talk to Christina Adachi more about her campaign and herself on a trip from Pittsburgh to Edinboro, where I was scheduled to give a speech. (Incidentally, 150 people attended this meeting; 34 of them endorsed Adachi's campaign, and several joined the Young Socialist Alliance.)

Christina has been politically active for several years. Before joining the socialist movement she was a supporter of Shirley Chisholm. In fact, she ran as a Chisholm delegate from St. Louis for the 1972 Democratic Party convention. She participated in the antiwar and feminist movements and after coming to Pittsburgh was a co-editor of a community newspaper called *South of the River*.

She is now a student at the University of Pittsburgh and a member of both the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

Christina's parents are both first-generation Japanese-Americans, born in California. During

World War II they were among the thousands of Japanese-Americans rounded up in this country and thrown into concentration camps. After their release they moved to Chicago looking for work. Christina and her two brothers and a sister were born and raised in Chicago.

I asked Christina what her family thought of her political involvement. "Mainly," she said, "people who went through the experience of the camps during World War II are very cautious and are afraid to become involved."

"Their fear isn't unfounded," she added. "About a month ago the Immigration Service came to my apartment. They said they were checking to see if I was an American citizen! Can you imagine? I'm a candidate for U.S. Senate, born and raised here, my parents were born and raised here—and thrown into concentration camps—and these people want to know if I'm a citizen."

Christina has been undemocratically ruled off the ballot because she is not yet 30 years old. At the meeting in Edinboro, people were urged to write in her name for the Nov. 5 elections.

A group of women from the Erie, Pa., NOW had driven to Edinboro for the meeting. One of them commented that it "was great to have someone to vote for, and tell others to vote for, that you don't have to apologize for."

My sentiments exactly.

The American Way of Life

'How I learned to stop worrying...'

Nuclear weapons are thorough. After the blast that levels a city, fire storms burn whatever—and whoever—is left. Lethal radiation makes the place uninhabitable for future generations.

The Pentagon, while maintaining a nuclear arsenal capable of eliminating every man, woman, and child on earth several thousand times over, has demonstrated its concern for human life by calculations showing that a full-scale nuclear war would only do away with a few tens of millions on each side. That's no worse than the results of famine, and we already have those going in Africa and Asia.

Recently, however, new assurances were necessary to counteract the "subversives" and "nervous Nellies" among us who have been giving the H-bomb a bad press. It was reported Oct. 17: "The Defense Department estimates that an all-out nuclear war would significantly deplete the protective layer of ozone in the stratosphere but not to the point of endangering the continuance of life on earth."

The ozone layer in the earth's upper atmosphere

prevents most of the sun's radiation from reaching the surface of the earth. Scientists believe that even a small reduction in this protective layer—made up of oxygen molecules clustered in groups of three, instead of the normal two—would result in a rapid increase in skin cancer among humans. A 50 percent drop in ozone would increase by 10 times the amount of ultraviolet rays reaching the surface of the earth. "The question then arises," wrote a scientific panel studying the ozone layer, "as to whether man and other living organisms could sustain such increases."

Dr. Fred Iklé, the director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, has explained that sharp increases in the amount of ultraviolet radiation could destroy critical links in the food chain and "thus shatter the ecological structure that permits man to remain alive on this planet."

The Pentagon estimates that the ozone layer would be depleted by 50 to 75 percent in a nuclear war—although it hastens to add that it would be the large strategic warheads used by the So-

viet Union that would be to blame. Everyone knows, of course, that American-made H-bombs are benign.

Displaying their usual candor, Pentagon officials have refused to make public the actual studies on the possible effects of nuclear explosions on the ozone layer. Their contention is that a nuclear war "would have the effect of lowering the ozone content over the temperate regions to about the level that normally prevails over the tropical region."

"Since life goes on in the tropical region," reports the Oct. 17 *New York Times*, "Pentagon officials see no reason to conclude that a substantial depletion of the ozone layer over the temperate region as a result of a nuclear war would have a serious adverse effect on living matter."

The only problem the atomaniacs have disregarded is: If New York and Chicago become like the tropics, what will the tropics be like?

But the people living there are foreigners; perhaps the Pentagon took that into account after all.

—DAVE FRANKEL

Labor support boosts strike at Macmillan

By CAROL LISKER

NEW YORK—Labor support is growing for the strike called at Macmillan, Inc., in response to the firing of 200 to 300 book publishing workers Oct. 14-16.

The firings were an attempt to bust a union-organizing drive by Local 153 of the Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU), AFL-CIO.

Carol Lisker is a member of the organizing committee at Macmillan, Inc., for Local 153, OPEIU, AFL-CIO.

The strike received a big boost last week when Teamsters Local 814 agreed to honor the picket lines at the company's Riverside, N.J., warehouse. Most of the transport in and out of the warehouse is driven by Teamster members.

Other workers at the warehouse are conducting an organizing drive with the Philadelphia local of the OPEIU.

The Riverside warehouse handles all of Macmillan's shipping operations for the East Coast and Europe. The Macmillan organizing committee has set up around-the-clock picket lines at Riverside, which is a two-and-a-half-hour drive from New York City.

Support has also come from the New York City Central Labor Council of the AFL-CIO. Council President Harry Van Arsdale sent Macmillan chairman Raymond Hagel a telegram



Linda Harms

Strikers have maintained around-the-clock picket line at publishing house

Oct. 18 on behalf of the council, expressing support for the strike and requesting a meeting with Hagel.

Early on the morning of Oct. 27, two pickets were arrested and others were roughed up as cops broke up the picket line at the company's service entrance on 53rd Street.

Strikers had been maintaining an

around-the-clock picket line there since Oct. 25 to prevent the company from removing the holdings of the corporate library and reference departments from the building.

Nonunion drivers and loaders arrived on the scene about 1 a.m. on Oct. 27 and—after the cops broke through the picket line—loaded up

three large trucks with books and office furniture from these departments.

The library and reference departments were among those dismantled by the company in conjunction with the wholesale firings. Although Macmillan claims that these departments were phased out for economic reasons, it has recently disclosed that it intends to reopen the corporate library in Chicago and hire a new reference staff there.

The two persons arrested were held at the police station for a couple of hours, then served summonses and released.

Support for the Macmillan strike has also come from the Center for United Labor Action, Office Workers United, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and candidates of the New York Socialist Workers Party.

District 65 of the Distributive Workers has been participating in the picket lines, and a statement of support was issued by the executive board of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1930, New York Library Guild.

On Oct. 25, all three New York City Militant Forums—Upper West Side, Lower Manhattan, and Brooklyn—heard speakers from the Macmillan organizing committee. Unionists from Harper & Row and activists in an organizing drive at G.P. Putnam's also spoke. One hundred dollars was collected at these meetings for the strike fund.

Macmillan strikers say: 'We need a union'

The Militant asked some of the activists on the Macmillan organizing committee working with Local 153, Office and Professional Employees International Union, to explain why they had become involved in the organizing drive.

Bill Kirkwood was the corporate librarian at Macmillan until he was fired in the Oct. 14-16 purge. He had been active in the civil rights movement in Oklahoma in the early 1960s. "I'm prounion," he said. "Always have been. My grandfather was a meat packer in the worst of times, and union was always a good word in our house."

Sammy Lashinsky is 26 years old and is attending college while she holds a job at Macmillan. She had never been involved in any political or social movements before becoming active in the union drive. "I had nothing to lose and everything to gain," she said.

Lashinsky was arbitrarily fired last

July, but she was rehired within several days because of action by Local 153 and the organizing committee. The union filed a charge with the National Labor Relations Board, and the organizing committee publicized the incident at Macmillan, where petitions demanding her rehiring were circulated.

Mary Malloy was involved in the antiwar and women's liberation movements while attending the University of California at San Diego. She was also active in protests against the coup in Chile last fall, just before moving to New York. She went to work for Macmillan as a researcher and was among those fired last month.

Malloy became involved in the organizing drive "because I knew I couldn't survive psychologically or economically unless I got involved. The whole situation at Macmillan is that people are kept apart, and the union, the women's group, and the strike all brought people together to

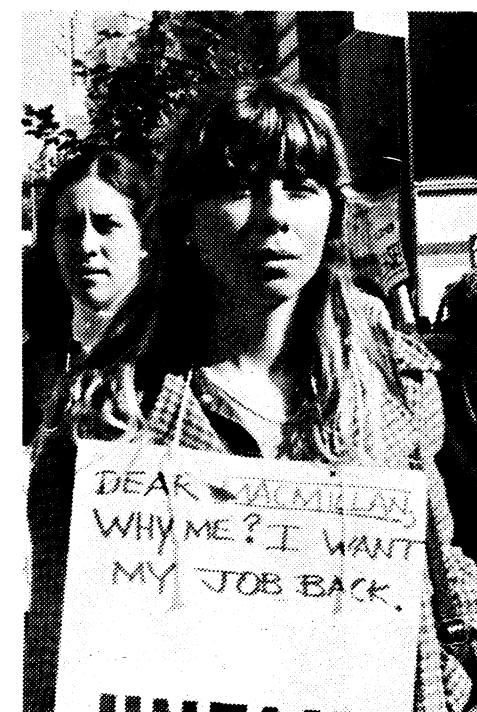
fight to get what they want and deserve."

Tamara Watson is a staunch advocate of women's liberation. "Even before the firings," she said, "the low wages, poor benefits, and discriminatory policies offered by Macmillan convinced me we needed a real organization and strong bargaining power—and that means a union."

Doug LaFrenier, a copywriter for the Free Press, part of Macmillan's book-publishing operations, was active in the antiwar movement at Adelphi University on Long Island. He said he had worked at jobs before where he belonged to a union, and knew how much better off workers are when they're organized.

"I think a lot of people who had gone through the antiwar movement and then sort of settled down to play the game are waking up again in fights like this one," LaFrenier commented.

Does he think the workers at Macmillan will win this fight? "Hell, yes!"



Linda Harms
Mary Malloy is active in union organizing drive.

Los Angeles transit workers end walkout

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—By a vote of 1,709 to 1,001, bus drivers here accepted a new contract Oct. 16, ending their strike against the Southern California Rapid Transit District (RTD). A week earlier, striking mechanics also voted to accept a new agreement.

The strike, which lasted 66 days, was marked by a management effort to build up enough public sentiment against the workers to force a strike-breaking compulsory arbitration bill through the state legislature. In this unsuccessful effort, the RTD had the active support of Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, a liberal Democrat. State and local politicians and the media joined in the hue and cry against the strikers.

The bus drivers, members of the United Transportation Union, and the mechanics, members of the Amalgamated Transit Union, were seeking substantial wage increases to place them on a par with transit workers elsewhere. They were also determined to resist management efforts to virtually scrap a cost-of-living escalator clause in the union contracts.

The mechanics were demanding a 46 percent increase over a two-year period, and the drivers 39 percent.

They settled for a 24 percent increase. They preserved their cost-of-living clause and won a small improvement in it. Increased pension benefits were also won.

The 24 percent hourly increase moves the Los Angeles unionists from

thirty-fourth to fourteenth place nationally in hourly wages.

One issue that caused many of the workers to vote against the agreement, a union spokesperson said, was that only 30 cents of the 68-cent hourly increase will be retroactive to June 1, when their old contract expired. The other 38 cents begins when they return to work.

Many of the workers apparently felt that, with the rapid rise in the cost of living, they should have stuck it out for a more substantial increase. Their total solidarity in the face of the whipped-up clamor against them certainly made greater gains a possibility.

One worker described the new

agreement as "not bad—but not good, either."

The strike, which shut down public transit in Los Angeles and three adjoining counties, assumed a special importance in the context of the spreading militancy of public workers. The efforts of the RTD to either force the unionists back to work or impose compulsory arbitration on them was clearly intended to begin to curb that militancy and to restore restrictions that had long prevailed on the right of public workers to strike.

The RTD bosses will no doubt not give up on their efforts. But the unshakable solidarity of the transit workers dealt a setback to their reactionary plan.

What strategy for the Black liberation

Last of a series
By TONY THOMAS

In past articles we have outlined the need for a socialist revolution to lay the basis for Black liberation and the need for a multinational Marxist party to make that revolution.

Today only a tiny number of Afro-Americans and other workers agree with this. The question is therefore posed: How to get from where we are now to socialist revolution? What strategy and tactics are needed to bring about a change in mass consciousness and organization?

We have shown in earlier articles how the contradictions of capitalism itself sow the seeds for the radicalization of the working masses and the Black community. For example, we can see how the experience of the Indochina war deepened the questioning of the government in this country. And the effects of inflation are laying the basis for deepening the workers' struggles.

While favorable objective conditions can bring about a deep radicalization and massive struggles, by themselves they are insufficient to bring about the victory of the socialist revolution.

In countless situations — such as Spain in the 1930s, Indonesia in the 1960s, and Portugal and Chile more recently — revolutionary upsurges have been blocked. On a world scale the objective conditions for revolution have not been lacking; what has been lacking is a revolutionary leadership.

In Chile, Portugal, and Spain the masses were led by Stalinists and social democrats, whose strategy was to subordinate the mass upsurge to making deals with capitalist politicians.

The key to a successful revolution is the existence of a revolutionary leadership of the decisive sections of the masses: a mass revolutionary workers party.

The construction of such a party entails winning the masses to its basic principles in the course of struggle and educating them to the key strategic concepts needed for the workers to take power.

Concerns of the masses

Two types of errors can be made by revolutionaries participating in the class struggle. Both consist of counter-



The Third International led by Lenin elaborated transitional strategy linking day-to-day struggles with socialist revolution.

posing the existing level of consciousness of the masses to their objective needs — that is, the full revolutionary program.

One is the sectarian form of refusing to relate to the demands and concerns of the masses if they are not explicitly "revolutionary." For instance, sectarians such as those of the Progressive Labor Party refuse to support nationalist demands of Blacks, because in their eyes such slogans and demands are not socialist.

Another form this error takes is the opportunist approach, which is to refuse to advance demands that go beyond the current consciousness of the masses.

Both approaches are wrong. In the current epoch of imperialism, the immediate concerns of the masses — elementary as they may seem — are directly related to the most profound tasks of the socialist revolution.

At the Third Congress of the Communist International (Comintern) in 1921, the delegates discussed how to avoid these errors in the Comintern's *Theses on Tactics*.

They resolved, "The revolutionary character of the present epoch consists precisely in this, that the most modest conditions of life for the working masses are incompatible with the existence of capitalist society, and that therefore the fight for even the most modest demands grows into the fight for communism."

They urged revolutionary Marxists to "put forward demands whose fulfillment is an immediate and urgent working-class need, and they must fight for these demands in mass struggle, regardless of whether they are compatible with the profit economy of the capitalist class or not."

"If the demands correspond to the vital needs of broad proletarian masses and if these masses feel that they cannot exist unless these demands are met," decided the Comintern Congress, "then the struggle for these demands will be the starting-point of the struggle for power."

The starting point of the struggle to build a revolutionary party is in the day-to-day struggles of the working masses. The task is to teach the masses through their own experiences that the struggles for their own immediate demands are linked with the struggle for workers' power and socialism.

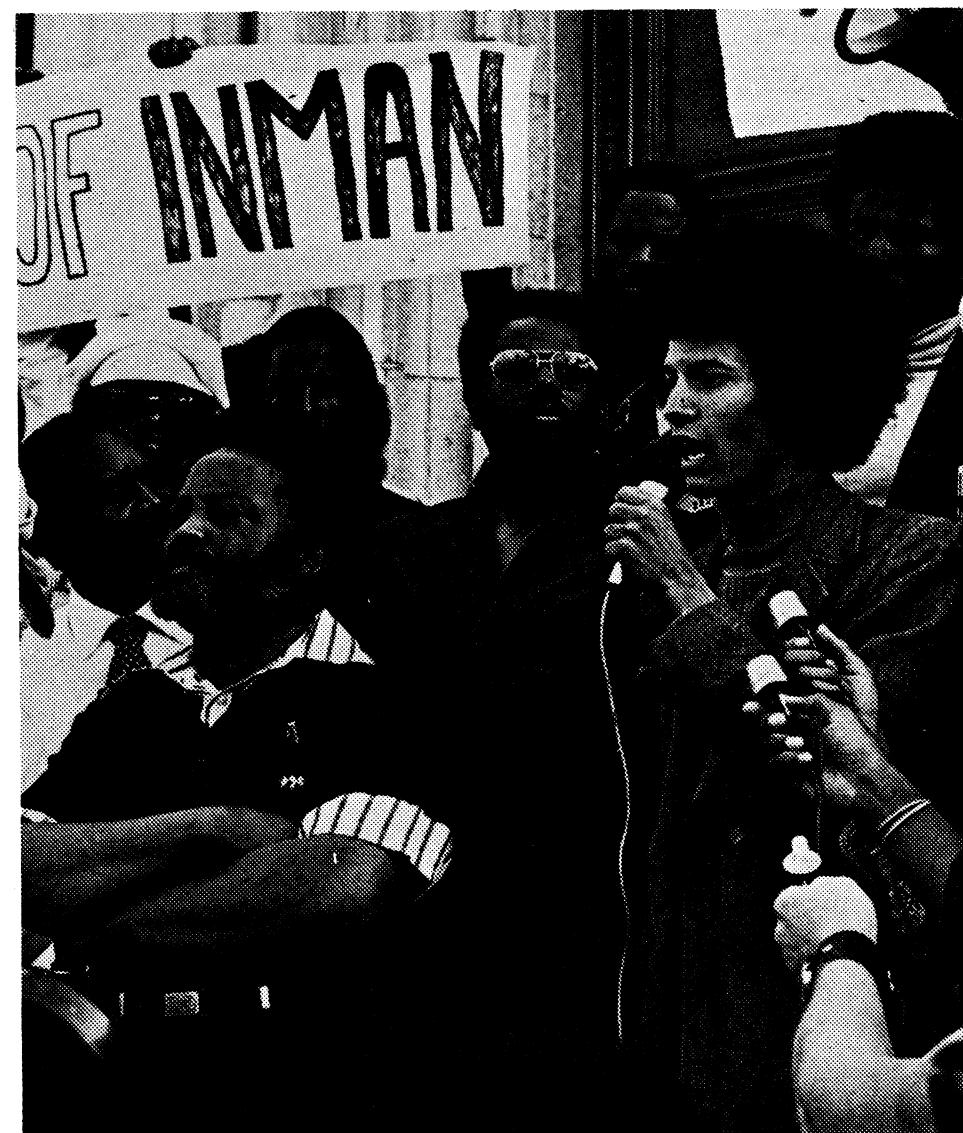
Such a program of demands must present realistic solutions to the problems facing the masses. It must at the same time lead, in the course of mass struggle for these demands, to an ever higher level of understanding, independent organization, and mobilization of the working class against the capitalist class.

This is what Marxists call a transitional strategy.

Mass action

An example of the application of this strategy by socialists can be seen in the struggle against police brutality in Atlanta and other cities. These struggles have usually been centered on demands for the trial and conviction of individual racist killer-cops, or the elimination of special repressive police units used to terrorize the Black community, such as Atlanta's SWAT (Special Weapons and Tactical) Squad.

In themselves, such struggles cannot eliminate police brutality. However, it would be a mistake for revolutionary socialists to disregard them for this reason.



Militant/George Basley

Atlanta Socialist Workers Party leader Vince Eagan speaking at protest against police brutality. SWP urges deepening of mass struggle rather than reliance on capitalist politicians.

Success in such struggles would be a step forward. Furthermore, it is through such struggles that the masses of the Black community can take initial steps against the capitalist system and its institutions.

A central element of the orientation of revolutionists participating in these struggles has been to propose proletarian methods of struggle — that is, forms of mass action that demonstrate and bring to bear the power of the working masses.

The power of mass action is the only force that can wrest concessions from the ruling class, as has been demonstrated throughout the history of the Black struggle.

Mass actions and the winning of partial gains — such as dismissal and conviction of a killer-cop or the abolition of SWAT — help give the masses confidence in their own power. They undermine the ruling class's attempt to make the masses feel that political and economic decisions are not the affairs of working people. Instead, mass action around the needs of the masses moves toward the socialist goal: that the workers should take power and take control of their own lives.

Mass actions also serve to expose the real nature of the capitalist class and its system. Thus, the civil rights movement, the ghetto rebellions, Afro-American high school and campus actions, struggles for Black control of the Black community, and Black workers' actions on the job have all contributed to heightening the consciousness of Black people.

Socialist participation

Revolutionists who participate in such struggles try to link them with the overall socialist aims, both in methods of struggle and in program. They combine building the mass movement with drawing the revolu-

tionary socialist lessons from these struggles.

For example, Vince Eagan, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for governor of Georgia, has played a leading role in various coalitions in the ongoing struggle against SWAT and other police brutality in Atlanta.

The SWP has tried to build the most massive possible protest against specific actions and terrorist organizations of the police. At the same time the SWP points out that only the total expulsion of the police from the Black community, and their replacement by self-defense organizations controlled by the Black community, can really end police terror.

This, in turn, can be achieved only through revolutionary action against capitalism.

The socialists also explain that the Republican and Democratic parties are obstacles to the struggle against police terror. Vince Eagan pointed out to Black activists that Mayor Maynard Jackson and other Black Democratic politicians sided fundamentally with the capitalist repressive system rather than with the struggle of the Black community to defend itself from the police.

United front

One of the key elements of strategy in advancing the class struggle is the united front. Developed by Lenin and Trotsky, it flows from recognition that masses of workers and other oppressed people still follow reformist, or even capitalist leaders, yet they are willing to go into action in defense of their class interests.

Lenin pointed out that in this situation it is the duty of revolutionary socialists to initiate united fronts around specific demands in the workers' interests. The aim of such fronts is to involve all organizations and individ-

Struggle today?

uals willing to struggle. By participating in such activities, revolutionaries are able to draw broader layers of the masses into struggle and at the same time expose the nonrevolutionary leaderships that shy away from any mass struggle.

For revolutionists this strategy is key to gaining the confidence of the masses by proving the superiority of revolutionary strategy in action.

During the height of direct U.S. involvement in Vietnam, the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance worked to build united-front-type coalitions of many organizations opposing the war.

This broad movement—which drew in many Blacks and other working people as well as students—helped to radicalize those who were involved as well as others who sympathized with it. Through this involvement thousands of antiwar activists were brought into contact with the YSA and SWP, and many joined.

This strategy also mobilized the broadest and most effective political aid to the Indochinese freedom fighters.

Class independence

Of decisive importance to the class struggle in the United States is the fight for political independence of the Black masses and the working class as a whole from the capitalist parties.

In this country the masses of Afro-Americans and other workers see no independent working-class alternative to the Democratic Party. By and large, they continue to vote for Democrats, who are controlled by the same racist, imperialist interests that are responsible for class exploitation and class oppression.

In recent years the capitalist par-



Atlanta's Democratic mayor, Maynard Jackson. Democratic Party politicians work to keep Black people tied to the capitalist system.

ties, especially the Democrats, have been putting forward Black politicians as mayors, members of Congress, and other officeholders, in order to blunt and disorient the struggle of the Black community. When the masses want to march in the streets or take other direct action, these Black officials instead urge reliance on the capitalist parties and government to solve the problems.

The tactic of pushing Black, "pro-labor," or "peace" candidates in the Democratic Party has been used by the rulers to disorient the labor movement and the antiwar movement as well as the Black struggle.

Every time a "revolutionary" who claims to speak for the Black community or for the working class calls

for support to Democrats—as, for example, the Communist Party does—they are contradicting the revolutionary aim of workers' power. They are justifying the rule of the racists, oppressors, and exploiters, regardless of their intentions.

Revolutionary socialists call for a mass break from the Democratic and Republican parties. This is expressed in the SWP's call for the formation of a labor and a mass Black political party, and its support to Raza Unida parties in the Southwest.

The formation of such parties on a mass scale would help advance the struggles of Blacks, Chicanos, and all working people. This would also be a step toward the goal of forging a mass, multinational revolutionary workers party that can topple capitalism entirely.

A strategy of class independence means trying to involve masses of people—who may still believe in the capitalist politicians—in action against the government. And it means helping them, through struggles, to advance their consciousness, broadening the mass base of the struggle, and exposing the limitations of the Democrats and Republicans.

Socialist education

Just as essential as organizing mass struggles is a continual campaign of socialist education about the need to overthrow capitalism, the nature of capitalist institutions such as the Democratic Party and the police, and the advantages of socialism.

This education will begin to open the minds of broader layers to the types of actions they will have to take as the struggle deepens. It can draw militants into the revolutionary socialist party. And it can inspire those in struggle with hope in the future and confidence in the justice of their fight.

This is why one of the key activities of the SWP and YSA right now is speaking, writing, selling revolutionary literature, and in other ways bringing socialist ideas to as broad an audience as possible.

Build the party

As we have pointed out, the construction of the revolutionary Marxist party is the decisive question in the revolutionary process. Only such a party can draw the lessons from the class struggle and lead the masses from their current consciousness to socialist revolution.

This is the task to which the SWP and YSA are dedicated.

Building the revolutionary party is the present task, because to prepare for the future victory of the working class the party must participate in the present struggles and experiences of the masses. This is the way that the class struggle can be advanced.

That party must be strengthened now so that the leadership of the future can be trained and tested in the class struggle. This is why Afro-American and other militants interested in Black liberation should join us in this fight.

For further reading:

Black Liberation and Socialism

Edited by Tony Thomas, paper \$2.45

Order from: PATHFINDER PRESS
410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

S.F. labor mobilization needed to stop 'Prop L'

By NAT WEINSTEIN

SAN FRANCISCO—Five hundred trade unionists and supporters rallied on the steps of city hall Oct. 19 for the defeat of Proposition L in the Nov. 5 election.

The proposition, an amendment to the city charter, would institute wage-setting criteria that would effectively cut wages of city workers. The lowest-paid—mostly Blacks, other minorities, and women—would be hardest hit.

The speakers, evenly divided between labor officials and Democratic and Republican Party politicians, hit away at Proposition L as a vicious piece of antilabor legislation designed to qualitatively set back union power here.

workers but in the private sector.

But more important to them, it seems, is to avoid a course that might further undermine their class-collaborationist politics. The passage of Proposition L would continue the erosion of the bargaining position of the labor tops with the capitalist politicians, who are pointing to labor's inability to "deliver the vote" as justification for more openly antilabor stands.

The labor bureaucracy's twisted logic is evidently that the lesser evil would be to suffer a setback without a serious fight rather than mount a determined campaign and possibly lose anyway.

And it is bitterly ironic that the bureaucrats will no doubt use the pas-



Rally against antilabor 'Proposition L' Oct. 19. Turnout could have been far greater, but union officials made little effort to build demonstration.

But the real story of this rally, sponsored by Local 250A, Transport Workers Union (TWU), and endorsed by a broad spectrum of other unions, was symbolized by the relatively low turnout.

This was the result of the failure of almost all the participating unions to make any serious effort to mobilize their ranks. Almost no notice of the rally was circulated, either through special mailings or union newspapers.

No news conferences to publicize the rally were attempted. Consequently, there was no prerally media coverage, even though some of the leading capitalist politicians in Northern California were featured speakers, including Mayor Joseph Alioto and Congressman Phillip Burton (D-Calif.).

Before the rally itself, evidence began to pile up indicating opposition to the demonstration by major sections of the union bureaucracy. Officials' reports to local unions were colored by whining complaints that the TWU called the rally "without consulting the rest of us in the union movement."

Badmouthing the rally with virtual predictions it would be a flop naturally amounted to a self-fulfilling prophecy.

At the rally, Jack Crowley, head of the San Francisco Central Labor Council, announced the results of a poll predicting a 71 percent majority for this antilabor proposition.

Crowley acknowledged it was an uphill fight but offered no program of action to alter the outcome. Neither did any of the other labor speakers. Vague references to doorbell-ringing and even vaguer hints at "other forms of action" marked their presentations.

What lies behind this fainthearted response of the union officials? It is certainly not because they don't see the extent of the threat. They know they have much to lose if Proposition L passes. Union membership would decline not only among city

sage of Proposition L to justify support for next year's crew of Democratic and Republican fakers to replace last year's discredited ones.

Why has this antilabor proposition been able to win such popularity? For one thing, the employing class has taken advantage of every opportunity for dividing the working-class voters of the city.

Billboard posters have sprung up throughout the city in recent weeks with the cryptic slogan, "For Sweeping Reform, Vote Yes on Proposition 'L'". The slogan is accompanied by a picture of a streetsweeper's broom and trash can. It is meant to evoke the image fostered by a long propaganda campaign in the media against "overpaid" street sweepers and transit workers, most of whom are Black.

The slogan plays on racist attitudes and on the justifiable outrage felt by workers squeezed by declining real wages and rising tax rates.

The lie that attributes rising taxes to city workers' "high" pay could be easily answered by showing that the real reason is the steady shifting of tax burdens from the rich to the poor. But the labor chiefs, committed to "coalition politics," cannot do this because it would indict their "friends" in the two parties of big business.

The apparent decision to accept defeat on Proposition L without a serious fight was not unanimous, though. The division over having the rally indicates that some union officials wanted to put up a more determined fight.

The significance of this small crack in the bureaucracy is underscored by reports that some labor officials have been informally discussing running a slate of independent labor candidates for board of supervisors next year.

This new development, stalled for the time being, will grow in popularity as bankrupt coalition politics takes further tolls on workers' living standards.

The 1943 miners strike: how UMW broke World War II wage freeze

By CINDY JAQUITH

The approaching Nov. 12 deadline for a strike in the coal industry nearly coincides with the anniversary of the United Mine Workers (UMW) strike victory of 1943, when the union smashed through the World War II wage freeze and no-strike pact.

A series of four militant strikes by miners in 1943 culminated in victory Nov. 3, when the union ratified a new contract giving the workers a \$1.50-a-day raise. The miners' struggle marked a turning point for the labor movement during the War. Until that time the unions had been held back by the capitulation of virtually the entire trade-union leadership to the wartime antilabor policies of President Roosevelt.

Roosevelt used the "fight against fascism" as an excuse to launch an all-out attack on the unions during the war. With the cooperation of the top labor officials, a War Labor Board was set up, composed of businessmen, union officials, and representatives of "the public," who invariably sided with business.

This board, along with the Office of Price Administration, was supposedly set up to make sure that workers and capitalists sacrificed "equally" during the war. But the so-called wage-price controls of World War II did just what the wage-price controls of 1971 did—they kept workers' wages down, while allowing prices to soar.

The workers were hampered by another betrayal when union officials, including UMW President John L. Lewis, agreed to a no-strike pact in 1941.

Miners in vanguard

As prices rose and workers saw the enormous profits of the war industries, they began to grow angry. The first to demand action were the miners.

On Feb. 3, 1943, UMW President Lewis announced that the soft-coal miners wanted a \$2-a-day wage increase and would settle for nothing less. Newspapers, Democratic and Republican politicians, and businessmen immediately jumped on the "traitorous" demands of the UMW. (They hadn't made a peep less than a month before when the government approved a price hike for the coal bosses of 23 cents per ton of coal.)

On March 26 Lewis was ordered to testify before the Senate War Investigating Committee. Lewis gave a scathing condemnation of the war profiteers and the government's antilabor policies. Art Preis, in his book *Labor's Giant Step* (Pathfinder Press), gives the following account of the end of the Senate session:

"As the reeling senators were preparing to call it a day, [Senator] Bur-



Miners during World War II. Then, as now, workers were expected to sacrifice while corporation profits soared.

ton of Ohio told Lewis: 'We want to help make sure we don't start off inflation from this corner.' Lewis answered: 'Do you mind first inflating the stomachs of some of my members?'

"The flushed senator cried: 'If we restrain industry and finance, are you willing to work on holding down the wages?'

"Rising to leave, Lewis glanced contemptuously at Burton and purred: 'My dear Senator, whenever you have restrained industry and finance, just call me on the telephone and let me know.'

The first UMW walkout began in late April, after the contract had run out and the War Labor Board had announced it was taking over the case. By May 1, despite the board's appeal to the miners not to strike, all of the union's 530,000 soft-coal miners had left the pits, honoring the UMW tradition of "no contract, no work."

The May 8 *Militant* hailed the miners' action in a front-page editorial that began:

"The miners have weathered the first storm of anti-labor blows and hysteria. . . . They did not retreat on their wage demands and they have a good chance of winning what they demanded.

"They couldn't have done this if they had permitted their case to be buried in that graveyard of grievances, the War Labor board. They couldn't have done this if they had submitted their case to a court packed against labor. They couldn't have done this if they had entered the fight shackled

by the chains of a no-strike pledge."

The Militant was virtually the only newspaper at the time that unconditionally supported the miners' struggle.

Officials of both the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) attacked the strikes as a hindrance to the war effort. The ranks of the labor movement, however, responded differently. Many CIO locals passed resolutions giving wholehearted support to the miners.

Stalinist strikebreakers

The Stalinists of the Communist Party played a scandalous role during the miners' struggle. Not content to attack Lewis as a "fascist" and the strikes as "treasonable," the Stalinists also sent their top leaders, such as William Z. Foster, into the mine fields to urge the miners to go back to work.

While more and more rank-and-file workers were identifying with the miners' fight, the Stalinists were screaming for government intervention to smash the UMW. A June 1 statement by the CP National Committee said:

"The miners must return to work immediately. . . . The whole working class and its trade union movement will uphold the Commander-in-Chief in WHATEVER STEPS MAY BE NECESSARY to insure uninterrupted production and orderly labor relations."

The CP's scab role stemmed from the Stalinists' 100 percent support for

the U.S. government in World War II, a war in which working people paid with their lives so that U.S. imperialism could strengthen its domination over more of the world. Hewing to the Moscow line, the American CP demanded that U.S. workers subordinate their own needs to the war effort.

The Stalinists' betrayal of the miners dovetailed with the capitalists' propaganda against the UMW, in which they tried to pit the miners against GIs overseas and their families. A typical quote in the press, purported to be from a soldier, said: "I'd just as soon shoot one of those strikers as Japs."

In addition to the barrage of press attacks, the miners were faced with vicious new antilabor laws, including the Smith-Connally Act, which made it a felony merely to advocate a strike in an industry run by the government. This bill was demonstratively pushed through Congress as a threat to the miners after Roosevelt, on May 1, ordered government seizure of all struck coal mines.

Negotiations with the miners continued to break down, because the government refused to approve a wage increase, and the miners refused to settle for less. Two more strikes occurred, and finally, by Nov. 1, all 530,000 miners had struck a fourth time, after the War Labor Board rejected a settlement in Illinois that allowed for a \$2 raise.

Faced with the strength and solidarity of the miners, Roosevelt finally gave in, and a national settlement was made on Nov. 3, granting a \$1.50 raise.

Celebrating the victory, the Nov. 13 *Militant* asked, "Where can anyone find in the annals of labor, another such example of discipline, of steadfastness, of solidarity? The miners work with the danger of injury or death as their constant companion. What a school that is!"

". . . in breaking through, they won not for themselves alone, but for the labor movement as a whole. The miners' strikes of 1943, taking place in the midst of the Second World War, will forever remain a landmark in the history of the American class struggle."

The struggle of the miners during the war holds many lessons for the UMW today. Miners are again faced with flag-waving appeals to sacrifice in the "national interest"—this time because of the contrived energy crisis—and threatened with government intervention if they dare to strike.

It will take the same kind of militancy and determination the miners displayed in World War II to break through the current government-employer drive to make the workers bear the brunt of inflation.

Partial victory against scab lettuce at Indiana U

By DENNIS DRAKE

BLOOMINGTON, Ind.—The campaign to rid Indiana University (IU) of scab lettuce won a partial victory Oct. 16 when IU Vice-president Byrum Carter agreed to allow dormitory "community councils" to decide whether scab lettuce will be banned.

Carter announced his decision at a public meeting of 150-200 United Farm Workers (UFW) supporters. This concession followed a month-long campaign to force the university to implement a referendum of dormi-

tory residents, who had voted by a 2-to-1 margin to end the purchase of non-UFW lettuce.

Boycott activists have pointed out that the administration is still refusing to fully implement the referendum. They also note that these "community councils" are composed of at least 50 percent nonstudents.

Nevertheless, three out of the four dormitories that have voted on this issue voted to remove all non-UFW lettuce. This was largely because of the efforts of the UFW boycott com-

mittee on the campus.

During the summer the committee successfully approached various trade-union conferences held on campus for their support. The committee's demand that IU ban scab lettuce won support from the Indiana AFL-CIO leadership conference, state AFL-CIO President Willis Zagrovich, and members of the International Association of Machinists, United Steelworkers, and United Auto Workers (Region 3).

This fall, when the administration stalled on implementing the referen-

dum, 80 boycott supporters staged a protest at Carter's office. After Carter refused to meet with the students they sat in at Memorial Hall, where his office is located. Carter then met with the students and agreed to a larger public meeting on Oct. 16.

At that meeting, speakers pointed out that it was the mass pressure of UFW supporters that forced the administration to back down, and that even more pressure was needed to force full implementation of the student referendum.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

NOVEMBER 8, 1974

'Operation Tar Baby': new revelations confirm U.S. support to colonial regimes in southern Africa

By Peter Green

A secret White House document urging a policy of support to racist white-minority regimes in southern Africa was brought to light in an article by Tad Szulc in the October issue of *Esquire* magazine. The document, National Security Council Decision Memorandum, was prepared under the direction of Henry Kissinger. It outlined five options for a strategy for holding in check the Black liberation struggles and preserving the status quo in southern Africa.

The "general posture" recommended in the memorandum was for the United States to "... maintain public opposition to racial repression but relax political isolation and economic restrictions on the white states."

Option 2 called for Washington to indicate to the colonial-settler regimes its "willingness to accept political arrangements short of guaranteed progress toward majority rule. . ." This policy was "personally recommended" by Kissinger, columnist Jack Anderson reported October 11. It was the one former President Nixon approved, in February 1970.

After its adoption, Option 2 acquired the name "Tar Baby" among White House advisers. Its fundamental assumption was stated as follows:

"The whites are here [in Africa] to stay and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them. There is no hope for the blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence, which will only lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the Communists. We can, by selective relaxation of our stance toward the white regimes, encourage some modification of their current racial and colonial policies and through more substantial economic assistance to the black states help to draw the two groups together and exert some influence on both for peaceful change. Our tangible interests form a basis for our contacts in the region, and these can be maintained at an acceptable political cost."

To keep the backlash to an "acceptable" level, White House strategists suggested that the plan be carried out carefully, gradually, and secretly. "... given the sensitivities of the black American community and church and liberal groups," Szulc pointed out, "Tar Baby's" aims had to be carefully concealed.

The document recommended the following "Operational Examples" as ways of putting the plan into practice:

"Enforce arms embargo against South Africa but with liberal treatment of equipment which could serve either military or civilian purposes."

"Permit U. S. naval calls in South Africa with arrangements for nondiscrimination toward U. S. personnel in

organized activity ashore; authorize routine use of airfields."

"Remove constraints on EXIM [Export-Import] Bank facilities for South Africa; actively encourage U. S. exports and facilitate U. S. investment."

"Conduct selected exchange programs with South Africa in all categories, including military."

"Without changing the U. S. legal position that South African occupancy of South-West Africa is illegal, we would play down the issue and encourage accommodation between South Africa and the U. N."

"On Rhodesia, retain consulate; gradually relax sanctions (e.g., hardship exceptions for chrome) and consider eventual recognition."

"Continue arms embargo on Portuguese territories, but give more liberal treatment to exports of dual-purpose equipment."

for well over a year. The overall aim is to extend their air and naval operations to the South Atlantic and Indian Ocean areas around southern Africa. The planning is being carried out at the Norfolk, Virginia, headquarters of SACLANT—the acronym for Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic—and was initiated by a secret order from NATO's Defense Planning Committee in June 1973. The declaration issued by the June 1974 meeting of the NATO Ministerial Council in Ottawa gave formal approval for the expansion of NATO operations, in effect giving NATO carte blanche to assume military responsibilities wherever it wishes.

The concrete results of the White House's adoption of the "Tar Baby" strategy are becoming increasingly apparent.

The "arms embargo" against South

Direct links between the U. S. and South African military services are increasing. The May 27 *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported that Washington receives information from a supersecret South African communications station that tracks Indian Ocean shipping all the way into the Bay of Bengal. According to Szulc, the U. S. also has missile-tracking facilities and a space-tracking station in South Africa. In addition, he reported, "the Central Intelligence Agency and the South African secret services cooperate closely under the terms of a secret intelligence agreement . . ."

Connie Mulder, the South African interior and information minister who may be next in line for prime minister, paid an "unofficial" visit to Washington in January. While there he met with then Vice-President Gerald Ford, Senate minority leader Hugh Scott, Senate minority whip Robert Griffin, and House majority leader Thomas O'Neill, among others. The least publicized part of his trip was a visit to the Pentagon, where he met Vice-Admiral Raymond Peet. Peet is a senior official in the office for International Security Affairs, which has responsibility for planning strategy in the Indian Ocean. According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the South African press hailed Mulder's visit as the opening of a new era in U.S.-South African cooperation in the Indian Ocean.

In May, the commander in chief of the South African military forces, Admiral Hugo Biermann, visited Washington and met with the acting secretary of the navy, J. William Middendorf. He also met with other government and military officials at informal gatherings. One dinner given for him by a Republican congressman was attended by seventeen admirals.

The U. S. Navy has previously used ports in Angola and Mozambique. But with the threat that the new regimes in these countries may close port facilities to the U. S., the Pentagon is looking more and more to Pretoria. Although the U. S. has renewed the agreement for its base on the Arab-Persian Gulf island of Bahrain, and is also going ahead with the construction of a large base on Diego Garcia in the middle of the Indian Ocean, Pentagon planners would also like to use the well-equipped naval bases in South Africa.

With the increased strategic importance of the oil-tanker routes around South Africa and with the impetus given to the African liberation struggle by the ending of direct Portuguese rule in some of its colonies, an increased effort to strengthen the links between Washington and South Africa may not be far off.



Washington bailed out South African regime with loans after crisis brought on by Sharpeville massacre in 1961 (above). New documents show how U.S. support continues.

"Toward African insurgent movements take public position that U. S. opposes use of force in racial confrontations. Continue humanitarian assistance to refugees."

"Establish flexible aid programs in the black states of the region; respond to reasonable requests for purchase of non-sophisticated arms."

The document envisaged that Washington would preserve its "economic, scientific and strategic interests in the white states and would expand opportunities for profitable trade and investment." (There is now approximately \$1,000 million in U. S. private investment in South Africa.)

Szulc pointed out that "Tar Baby" was consistent with the top-secret contingency planning that the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have been engaged in

Africa has been given an extremely liberal interpretation. The South Africans have been allowed to buy Bell helicopters capable of being used in police or military operations, as well as twin-engined Lear-jets that can be outfitted for reconnaissance and certain combat or suppression missions. Herbicides and defoliants of the type used in Vietnam have also been sold to South Africa.

Lisbon received the same generous treatment. Boeing 707 airliners that the Portuguese government bought were used to transport combat troops to Africa. Portuguese officers have been trained in counterinsurgency at the U. S. Army's jungle-warfare school at Fort Gulick in the Panama Canal Zone, and at Fort Benning, Georgia. Portuguese jet pilots received training in West Germany, where the U. S. has a number of large air bases.

Eyewitness account from Portugal

How workers defeated Spinola's attempted coup

By A. Romero

Lisbon

It was September 28. Responding to General Spínola's call, a self-styled "silent majority"—in reality the choicest sectors of reactionaries—was organizing a big demonstration that would provide the appropriate setting or the opportunity for a rightist coup.

But on that day the working class and its allies barricaded the streets, formed defense pickets, calmly demonstrating the immense power of mass mobilizations. The rightist maneuver was resoundingly defeated, and two days later Spínola had to resign.

"We are still passing through a serious crisis that makes us vulnerable to extremist adventures, Spínola had said September 10. "A systematic assault on public and private centers of decision-making is being promoted by groups operating beyond the pale of any legal and even institutional order. . . . In genuinely democratic human societies transformations must be made without abrupt jolts and convulsions, which sow the seeds of new dictatorships of the right or the left. The silent majority of the Portuguese people must wake up and take action to defend itself from extremist totalitarianism. . . ."

A Call to Action

These words were not simply reactionary rhetoric as so many of the general's orations have been. They were a real call to action for Portugal's shaken right wing.

A few days later it became clear that there was a nationally coordinated campaign: The alleged "silent majority" called a demonstration in "support of President Spínola's speech and the program of the MFA [Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement]." The call was accompanied by the appearance of a large number of expensively printed posters, the air-dropping of leaflets all over the country, and the rental of means of transportation.

The event was set for September 28 at the Praça do Império in Lisbon. A gamut running from the reactionary clergy, known paid goons, the many fascists still at large, the modern Partido Cristão Democrático [Christian Democratic party], the Liga de Ex-Combatentes [Veterans League], to some illustrious names like Champalimaud or Espírito Santo [major Portuguese capitalists] was mobilized openly or secretly to do what was required. People began to call them the "shadowy minority."

Almost instinctively the workers reacted violently against the campaign of the "shadowy minority," particularly in the largest cities. They systematically ripped down the anti-communist posters—even at the cost of clashes with elements hired by the right wing. Newspaper, radio, and television workers refused to print or broadcast propaganda for the counterrevolutionary rally. Railroad workers and bus drivers announced that they would not transport people to the rally.

Of course, the protests against the rally by the CP, the Intersindical [trade-union federation], and the MDP [Movimento Democrático Português—Portuguese Democratic Movement], and later also by the SP and the rest of the trade-union and left organiza-

tions, helped considerably to swell the massiveness of the opposition to the rally.

But the line taken by the Stalinists was deliberately confused. Papering over the complicity of the government and the president himself with the putschist demonstration, the Stalinists placed their hopes in Spínola, the MFA, and the provisional government "stopping" the reactionaries from "making a mockery" of the meaning and goals of April 25.

The Stalinists shifted their stance partially only when it had become evident that neither Spínola, nor the MFA, nor the government—which the CP itself is a part of!—would ban the anticommunist demonstration, and that this represented an obvious danger to their remaining in the cabinet. Just days before September 28, the CP took up the slogan "The reaction-

bullfight organized by the Liga de Ex-Combatentes. At the event, there were cheers for Spínola and the "overseas territories" (colonies), "extremism" was denounced, and the speakers invited everyone to join the "silent majority." But at the end of the bullfight, thousands of antifascists confronted the reactionaries and shut them up after some forceful encounters.

The governmental crisis exploded into the open in the final hours of September 27, at the moment when it became clear that the "shadowy minority" would have to use violence to break through the workers' cordons in order to hold the rally. One of the most prominent members of the JSN, [Carlos] Galvão de Melo, publicly announced his support for the "magnificent demonstration" and denounced all attempts to interfere with it. Frantic meetings, held by and large

taneously, seeking information and determined to take action against the reactionaries when it proved necessary. In addition, since dawn military units acting under the orders of the MFA had been joining the popular forces guarding the city.

At midday a message was broadcast saying that "to avoid clashes" Spínola thought it "advisable" not to hold the demonstration. Shortly afterward, he added that the demonstration had been "canceled."

There were repeated announcements that a message from Spínola would be broadcast, but at 6 p.m. it was reported that the statement would not be issued.

During the time that picket groups were functioning for defense and information, some of them held afternoon and evening rallies. In the center of Lisbon, a demonstration organized by some committees of workers involved in struggles and organizations of "the far left" (particularly the Maoists) drew 10,000 to 20,000 persons.

Beginning the afternoon of September 28 and continuing into the following day, the MFA made repeated appeals for the removal of the pickets, "because they were no longer needed." They claimed the triumph had confirmed the MFA's "historic vanguard" role, the value of mobilizations, and the importance of "the unity of the people with the armed forces."

Many workers commented, however, that if it had not been for *their* barricades, the reactionaries would have succeeded. Some picket lines and discussion groups continued to function until the next afternoon as they waited for more information about the outcome of the crisis and, above all, for the denunciation and punishment of figures involved with the right wing.

Workers Act Independently

Broad sectors of the working class had played a central role, though perhaps not totally consciously, in actions of extraordinary importance. They acted both *in advance of* and *independently of* the MFA and the provisional government, and paid *more attention to the instructions of the CP and the Intersindical than to those of the military*.

Despite the fact that it was the masses who defeated the reactionary conspiracy, forced the belated military intervention, and *overthrew* Spínola—for his resignation is a confession of defeat—they were not able to take part in the negotiations held to resolve the crisis.

The CP and SP treacherously endorsed the designation of a new president, who paid homage to Spínola. They allowed the military to hold back any investigation or punishment of the high military and government functionaries implicated in the sedition. They also tended to falsify the facts by giving the MFA credit for the victory. An example of this was given at the September 30 rally called to "express our gratitude and support to" the MFA, the provisional government, and the new president, [Francisco] Costa Gomes. There the CP went so far as to demand that the party flags be taken down and that the only chant be "Long Live the MFA." But even more astonishing was the call to turn the following Sunday into a



Searching luggage for arms in Lisbon. Government was forced to move against rightist coup attempt by mobilization of Portuguese workers.

aries must not pass" and called for blocking the counterrevolutionary rally "by any means necessary." On the afternoon of September 27 the Intersindical unions began to call more directly for a take-over of the streets.

Given the obstacles that had to be overcome, the consequences of the call were all the more impressive. Unarmed and with very little organization, the working class—accompanied by students and sectors of the middle classes—formed picket lines that barricaded access to Lisbon, Oporto, and Coimbra and checked cars and buses to prevent arms or contingents from being sent to the demonstration. By midnight the reactionaries were paralyzed and the pickets were in control of the streets.

Up until the last minute the president and government held back from taking a position, but there is no indication that Spínola had any plans to call off the rally—or coup. On September 26 he chose to make a public appearance—a dress rehearsal—at a

secret, followed in an attempt to reach an agreement, but events were moving too fast. At 2 a.m., when patrols were leaving to arrest reactionaries and seize arms, military forces acting under presidential orders cut the radio stations off the air. The stations then began to transmit an order to remove the barricades, saying that the provisional government would "guarantee" that the demonstration would take place as scheduled. The newspapers were banned from publishing.

At about 8:30 a.m., the radio stations began to broadcast a communiqué from the MFA calling for "calm in the country" and announcing that "some dozens of individuals had been arrested for investigation" in connection with seditious maneuvers carried out by the "most reactionary elements."

The population did not get any reports about what was really happening, but the cordons grew as the hours passed, and at all important points of the city huge crowds gathered spon-

"National Day of Labor" in support of the MFA!

Looking beyond stopgap measures, it is clear that the situation is going to become more and more explosive. It is unlikely that the advance in organization and consciousness that this general political mobilization of the class represented can be dissipated by the governmental reshuffle and the conciliationism of the Socialist and Communist leaderships. Proletarian struggles will continue and grow. Internally, the big workers parties will be shaken by the sharp contradiction between the revolutionary needs of the masses, who place their confidence in them, and the increasingly counter-revolutionary orientation pressed upon them by their leaders, who are in up to their necks with the bourgeois government.

Revolutionary Leadership

In this situation of acute crisis, the need for a consistently revolutionary leadership, for a Trotskyist party with mass influence, takes on the greatest urgency. Building such a leadership and party will be an essential part of the battle against popular frontism and sectarian vanguardism, counterposing a *united front of workers organizations* that can fight:

To defend and extend democratic rights (first of all to repeal the anti-strike law).

To punish those involved in the coup attempt (expropriate the capitalists, strip the military and government officials of their wealth and dismiss them from their positions).

To promote, centralize, and arm pickets organized by the unions.

To gain the rights for the soldiers that they are denied.

In these struggles it will be possible to confront the Communist and Socialist parties, as well as the Intersindical, before the public with the main task posed by the situation—the necessity that they, as the representatives recognized by the working class and the oppressed masses, struggle to take over the government in its entirety. Only a government that is based on the organizations of the workers and their allies and is independent of the bourgeoisie can meet the needs of the masses.

October 1, 1974

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India: the revolt of the untouchables

By Sharad Jhaveri

Jamnagar

The Dalit Panthers movement is a militant organisation of the most downtrodden and oppressed section of Indian society—the untouchables.

The untouchables are the poorest sector of the population, the layer where caste and class merge. Most members of low and scheduled (untouchable) castes are either landless laborers and sharecroppers in rural areas or manual laborers in the cities. In many urban areas of India, the menial labor they perform includes transporting human excrement.

In cities and villages, the untouchables continue to live in physically separated ghettos and are discriminated against in daily life. This includes such forms of social ostracism as exclusion from village wells, temples, and mosques.

In recent times, they have increasingly been the victims of terror attacks, rapes, and arson in several parts of India, particularly in Maharashtra and Gujarat.

This is the social and economic background in which the Dalit Panthers movement (inspired by the Black Panthers in the USA) emerged in Bombay in April 1972.

The immediate source of provocation was the clashes with caste Hindus, who were shielded by the police. Since then, the struggle has spread to several parts of Maharashtra, Gujarat, and south India.

In the past, two of the pioneers of bourgeois nationalism in India developed different strategies for tackling the problem of the scheduled castes.

Mahatma Gandhi, one of the most farsighted leaders of the Indian bourgeoisie, sought to integrate them peacefully into the traditional structure of Hindu society, despite the fact that this society is based on the Hindu religion's oppressive Varnashrama Dharma—a fourfold division of society in which there is no place for untouchables.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, an untouchable himself, ridiculed Mahatma's attempt to brand them as Harijans—the children of God. But his approach was also religious. In 1956, he led a mass

movement to convert untouchables to Buddhism. Obviously, such a movement could never alleviate the caste and class oppression of the untouchables.

The Republican party, founded to gain political power for the untouchables, has also failed in this regard—as well as on the electoral front. Apart from the problem of inadequate campaign funds and the fact that they cannot mobilize the support of caste Hindus, the untouchables are geographically dispersed and account for less than half the votes in almost all constituencies.

According to the 1961 census data, there were then about 65 million untouchables, about 15 percent of the population. About 54 million of the untouchables live in rural areas. About 90 percent are illiterate, and 75 percent work in the agricultural sector.

The Republican party eventually ended up becoming another regional, sectarian, communal type of party. This, in addition to the fact that a number of left parties and trade unions in India never tried to break down the social barriers of casteism, helped pave the way for the formation of the Dalit Panthers.

The Indian bourgeoisie tried to forestall such a development with a two-pronged strategy. On the legal front, it provided several constitutional safeguards and passed the Untouchability (Offences) Act, which made untouchability illegal. To date, however, these guarantees have not been enforced.

The second prong was the adoption of a policy called Protective Discrimination, which amounts to reserving seats in the legislature, scholarships, and a certain quota of government jobs for untouchables.

The result has been no more than the creation of a privileged layer of untouchables, a grouping with no ties with the villages.

This experience too has been decisive in the formation of the Panthers and in the formulation of their program.

The Dalit Panthers have taken a markedly anticapitalist stance. Namdev Dhasal, a Dalit poet and one of the group's leaders, is reported to be

a Marxist. He is the author of the *Dalit Panther Manifesto*.

The manifesto defines the word "Dalit" as including all scheduled castes and tribes, converted Buddhists, workers, landless laborers, small farmers, and nomadic tribes. It states that all parties aiming at the destruction of the Hindu Varna system and all real anticapitalist parties are its friends. It also states that landlords, capitalists, and money-lenders, along with the government and communal parties that protect them, are its enemies.

In defining the aims of the Dalit Panther movement, the manifesto says:

"We shall have to dominate the controlling positions in the economic, political and cultural spheres. We shall never remain submissive. We do not want a place among Brahmins. We seek to rule the entire country. . . . Mere change of heart or liberal education will not end injustice and exploitation. We shall rouse the revolutionary masses and organise them; the flame of revolution will emerge through the struggle of these vast masses. The social system cannot be revolutionised by mere demands for concessions, elections and satyagraha [civil-disobedience actions]. Our rebellious ideas of social revolution will germinate in the soil, grow in the minds of the people and ultimately will flash into existence like hot burning steel. . . ."

It is clear that the Panthers have a far more advanced perspective than any of the earlier formations of the untouchables. Their call for a casteless, secular society dominated by the downtrodden, and for a revolution led by the masses in struggle, raises high hopes.

The movement appears to have encountered some obstacles, however, including a split in the leadership. According to a report by Arun Sadhu in the July 31 issue of the *Times of India*, Raja Dhale, a Panther leader who was converted to Buddhism, has challenged the very basis of the manifesto—its call for a secular society.

Dhasal has warned that following this path would lead the Panthers to the same ditch of sectarianism that resulted in the virtual demise of the Republican party.



Peasants plowing in India. The untouchables are poorest of the poor.

Sakharov protests

Iraqi regime presses terror against Kurds

Dissident Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov has appealed for international support to help protect the Kurdish minority from the "cruel war" unleashed upon it by the Baghdad government.

According to the October 4 *Christian Science Monitor*, Sakharov's appeal was addressed to United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim as well as to Soviet Communist party leader Leonid Brezhnev. He called for a Security Council resolution demanding Iraq end its military action against the Kurds. He also called on those governments helping Iraq to withdraw their pilots and military advisers—a demand clearly aimed at Moscow's support to the Iraqi regime's efforts to crush the Kurds.

Since the renewal of fighting in March this year, tens of thousands of Kurdish refugees have fled across the border into Iran.

According to the September 5 *Washington Post*, twelve refugee camps set up in Iran already housed 80,000 Kurds, with another 20,000 refugees seeking shelter elsewhere. The Iranian Red Cross organization, the Red Lion and Sun Society, reported that the flow of refugees crossing the border had risen to 7,000 a day.

"... some estimates suggest," the September 22 *New York Times* reported, "that if the present level of battle is maintained the number may approach half-a-million by the end of the year."

"Qal'a Dizeh is Kurdistan's Guernica," wrote Smith Hempstone in the September 2 *Washington Star-News*, describing the massacre Iraqi bombers carried out in this Kurdish town of 25,000. It is only one of many instances in which Kurdish civilians have been deliberately bombed, but it illustrates clearly the cause of the massive exodus.

Hempstone visited Kurdistan in August and wrote a series of six articles from behind the lines. From eyewitness reports, he pieced together the story of the attack on Qal'a Dizeh.

On the morning of April 24, two Russian-built Sukhoi-7 bombers came in at rooftop level and unloaded their bombs. They scored direct hits on a primary school and the marketplace,



Kurdish refugees. Tens of thousands have fled Iraqi bombs and napalm.

and a near-miss on the university. The planes turned and came in for a second run, strafing the town with high-explosive rockets.

The toll was 131 killed and more than 300 wounded, including seven university students and one professor. Most of the other casualties were women and children, since the majority of the men were at the front.

"On the day after the bombing," Hempstone wrote, "the students and their professors voted not to reopen the university until the war was won, and marched off to join the Pesh Merqa [the Kurdish guerrilla forces]."

"Qal'a Dizeh," says Majib Yussif, a senior majoring in physics at the University of Sulaimaniya, "opened my eyes as nothing else could have to the nature of this struggle: Either the Kurds will win their freedom or the Baathists will exterminate us; there is no middle way."

Iraqi forces have since captured most of the important cities and towns in Kurdish Iraq and threaten to cut the Kurdish-held area in two. Hundreds of villages and hamlets have been destroyed or heavily damaged. Columns of refugees have been strafed and crops napalmed, and at times when no better targets were found, the Iraqi planes have even attacked flocks of sheep and herds of cattle.

"Since Qal'a Dizeh," Hempstone reported, "the Kurds know what to expect and are a little better prepared. Whole villages have moved into the caves that honeycomb these rugged mountains, an estimated 250,000 people having been made homeless by the war.... The peasants carry on their lives as best they can, coming down into the plains to harvest their crops by the light of full moons."

The Iraqi objective, Hempstone wrote, is clear. Baghdad intends "to make a wasteland out of Kurdistan, to terrorize civilians, to turn them against [Kurdish Democratic party leader Mustafa] Barzani's leadership, to threaten them with starvation this winter when the passes from Iran are blocked with snow and there is nothing to replace the burned crops and the slaughtered animals."

"If this is not genocide," says Idriss Barzani, the nationalist leader's son and chief-of-staff, "it will do until a better example comes along."



Christian Science Monitor

World news notes

Repression in Chile getting worse

The International Commission of Jurists charged October 23 that political repression in Chile is now "more ubiquitous and more systematic" than at any other time since the military coup that overthrew the Allende government in September 1973.

The commission reported that there were 700 known individual arrests from May to August, and 600 more in the weeks since October 5. "For every detainee who has been released in recent months at least two new arrests have been made," the commission charged.

In addition to individual arrests, some 10,000 to 15,000 people have been picked up in mass arrests in recent months, the commission said.

The day before the release of the jurists' report, a committee of the United Nations General Assembly voted 83 to 9 to urge the Chilean junta to restore human rights and free political prisoners. The United States abstained, complaining that the resolution contained no hint of the improvement of the situation in Chile in recent months.

20,000 protest in Athens

More than 20,000 persons, according to a BBC estimate, marched October 1 from the University of Athens to the U.S. Embassy to protest Washington's maneuvers to partition the island of Cyprus. It was one of the largest anti-imperialist demonstrations in Greece since the fall of the dictatorship at the end of July.

The mood of the demonstrators was militant, the Greek Trotskyist weekly *Ergatike Pale* reported in its October 5 issue. Among the most popular slogans were "Immediate Withdrawal of All Troops From Cyprus," "Americans Out," "No Partition," and "The Turkish Workers Are Our Brothers and Sisters."

Despite the Caramanlis government's threats that it would break up any demonstrations by force, there were no serious incidents. The police only delayed the march for some time on the stretch of the route between the Athens Hilton Hotel and the U.S. Embassy. The size and discipline of the demonstration apparently induced the repressive forces to act with restraint.

The demonstration was sponsored by a united front of independent student committees and several left organizations including the Panellenio Sosialistiko Kinema (Pa.So.K—Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement, the formation led by Andreas Papandreou), the Komounistiko Diethnistiko Komma tes Ellados (KDKE—Internationalist Communist party of Greece, the Greek section of the Fourth International), the Sosialistike Epanastatike Pale (SEP—Revolutionary Socialist Struggle), the supporters of the paper *Makhetes*, and several Maoist groups.

The principal traditional forces of the Greek left, however, opposed the united-front demonstrations quite strongly. Both factions of the Communist party, which has totally dominated the Greek left for several decades, issued statements denouncing the organizers.

Despite the size of the Stalinist forces, which in Greece probably have a combined strength comparable to that of the Communist parties in France and Italy, the October 1 demonstration indicated that neither of the two factions of the KKE, or both taken together, can control the young worker and student activists who developed in the years of the dictatorship.

Belgium bans facts on abortion

The October issue of the mass-circulation French women's magazine *Marie-Claire* has been banned by the Belgian government, and copies of it have been seized. The Christian Social government headed by Leo Tindemans objected to an article in the magazine explaining how abortions can be performed painlessly and harmlessly under proper medical supervision. Abortions are illegal in Belgium.

Swiss defeat racist referendum

A proposal aimed at expelling half the foreign population in Switzerland was defeated in a referendum October 20. Sixty-six percent of those voting rejected the proposal. A similar proposal was narrowly defeated in 1970 by a 54 percent "no" vote. Switzerland was the first European country to hold a referendum on the status of immigrants.

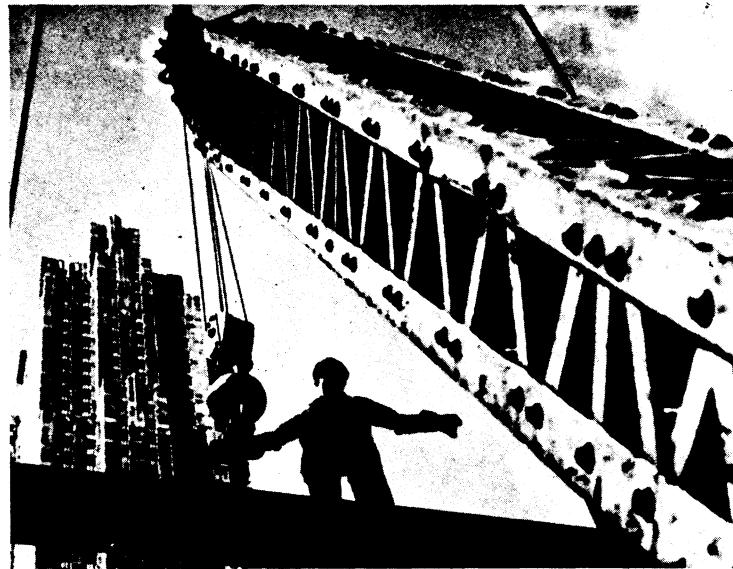
The racist campaign against the immigrants was launched by the right-wing National Action party. In 1972 it collected the necessary 50,000 signatures on a petition to call a referendum. The proposal called for limiting the foreign population in each canton to 12 percent, with the exception of Geneva, which would have been limited to 25 percent. This would have meant expelling about 540,000 of the 1.1 million immigrants in Switzerland by the target date, set for the end of 1977.

While the immigrants comprise only one-sixth of the total population, foreign workers, predominantly Italian, account for 37 percent of the work force, filling mostly unskilled or semiskilled jobs.

All major bourgeois parties, the trade unions, church leaders, business officials, and the news media came out against the proposal, pointing out that the expulsion of such a large part of the work force would mean "economic catastrophe" for the country. Nello Celio, a former finance minister, said, "Services like garbage collection, meat slaughtering, vegetable growing, baking, canning and waiting on people in restaurants and hotels couldn't be provided any more."

Cannon tribute

America's road to socialism



The following are excerpts from a speech by James P. Cannon entitled "Prospects of Capitalism and Socialism in America." It is one of six speeches on "America's Road to Socialism," which Cannon gave in Los Angeles during December 1952 and January 1953. The speeches, which have long been out of print, are soon to be republished as a book by Pathfinder Press (see ad below).

The speech excerpted here is especially timely in the context of the growing economic crisis of world capitalism today. It was given at a time when McCarthyism was on the rampage and many thought prosperity was here to stay. But Cannon looked beneath the appearances to the underlying forces at work, predicting the crises we are seeing today.

The Militant is reprinting these excerpts as part of our tribute to Cannon, who died Aug. 21 at the age of 84. He was a leader of the revolutionary socialist movement since the pre-World War I era, and at the time of his death was national chairman emeritus of the Socialist Workers Party.

The crisis of the Thirties demonstrated that American capitalist economy has no immunity from the laws which govern the same capitalist economy in other countries; that if its crises had been deferred by exceptionally favorable factors in the past, it was only to accumulate the material for a more powerful explosion when it came.

The contradictions of capitalism simply caught up with its favored American sector and made it pay double for the delay. The crisis put a question mark over the future of American capitalism and made the American people crisis-conscious and fearful of the future. The old confidence in the future of capitalism and the feeling of security had gone with the wind.

The crisis of 1929, which lasted ten

years, with some ups and downs within the crisis, was never solved except by the artificial means of expenditures for war and armaments. That was no solution, it was only a postponement. The unsolved crisis was still latent in the American economy after the end of World War II and was making its way ominously to the surface, when the huge new armaments program of the cold war again pushed it back. But the crisis is still there, still latent, silently growing like a malignant cancer in the body of American economy. . . .

The historical luck of American capitalism is running out. All those factors which favored its development from the beginning, cushioned the shocks of cyclical crises, and enabled it to grow at the expense of other capitalist nations, are either exhausted or turning into their opposites. . . .

Any prospect of stabilizing American economy on the basis of its internal market is absolutely excluded. Increased foreign trade, won by the United States as a result of the First world war, helped to spark the great economic boom of the Twenties. But now the world market, which America dominates as a result of its economic preponderance and the bankruptcy of its rivals, no longer offers an adequate outlet for America's glut of capital and surplus goods.

To be sure, the backward countries need what America produces to excess, but they can't pay for it. That difficulty might be overcome by loans and credits if these countries had stable bourgeois governments which the United States could trust to guarantee eventual payment. But there are very few such governments left in the world, and their number is decreasing.

The advanced industrial countries, on the other hand, need to increase their own exports. They not only need to share in the world market, where America crowds them out, but also want access to the American market, which America bars by tariffs. The

domination of the world market, which America fell heir to in the epoch of capitalist decline, offers no solution of her economic problem.

Of the various factors which once contributed to the rise and expansion of American capitalism, there remains only the factor of revolution which provided its first big impulsion [the American revolution of 1776].

Revolutions of the same kind are still taking place in the world, and American capitalism is partly responsible for them, but is not benefited by them. By its greedy, monopolistic and reactionary policy, it helps to ruin the economy of other countries, and drive the people to revolution. Then it tries to stop the revolutions with money, guns and bombs.

They act something like a schizophrenic fireman I once heard of, who was also a pyromaniac. He ran himself ragged all day trying to put out the fires he had started the night before. He never could catch up with his work.

America's schizophrenic policy of revolution and counterrevolution is a hopeless undertaking. Revolution, the benevolent friend of American capitalism in its infancy and surging adolescence, has become its mortal enemy in its twilight years. All the old avenues of expansion and development are closed off. American capitalist economy is in a blind alley. There is no way out.

From these economic facts we conclude that American capitalism is doomed, and that socialism will take its place.

This transformation, of course, will not take place automatically. A little political action will be required. But the economic facts we have summarized are preparing all the conditions for this political action and will generate all the necessary forces to assure its success.

The victory of Socialist America is already written in the stars. . . .

From India: messages in tribute to Cannon

The following are major excerpts from two messages in tribute to James P. Cannon received from Baroda, India.

Lucid explanations

To us, with the nightmare of Stalinism and Maoism, the writings of Comrade James P. Cannon served the purpose of revelation, in which the authentic understanding of original Marxism-Leninism was found. Perhaps we would venture to admit that we began to rediscover and grasp the meaning of the life and work of Lenin and the understanding of the struggle by Comrade Trotsky in the light of the lucid explanation given by Comrade Cannon.

We have read the legend of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin. But we have experienced, observed, and felt the presence of thriving Bolshevik organization as symbolized through the Socialist Workers Party, which was founded, formed, and reared by Comrade Cannon.

Comrade Cannon, the lodestar of the Fourth International since the ghastly murder of Comrade Trotsky by Stalin's agent, was a founder of the U.S. Communist Party and founder and promoter of the SWP: the pioneering revolutionary enterprise with expertise in constructing and rearing the organization of the Leninist-Bolshevik type.

This glorious fight of Comrade Cannon is worthy of emulation everywhere in the world dominated by capitalism and Stalinist bureaucracies. We pledge to carry this out through the thick and thin of the national and international class struggle for world socialist revolution.

Magan Desai, member of the central secretariat of the Communist League, Indian section of the Fourth International.

Living link

Comrade Cannon — the ever young and rebellious youth whom we came to know through the young American representatives forged in the foundry founded by Comrade Cannon, i.e., the SWP and its sympathizing youth organization the Young Socialist Alliance, who visited us here in recent years — remained to us a living link between we, the new Bolsheviks, and the pioneer Bolsheviks, Lenin and Trotsky.

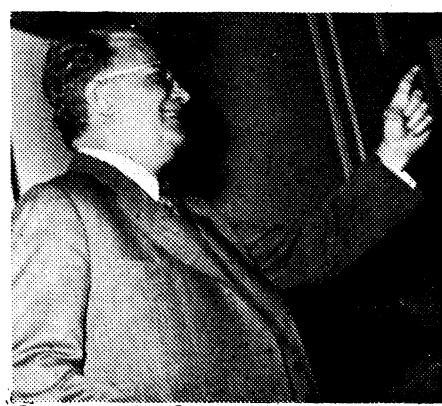
To us he was the pioneer continuator of the cause of the liberation of mankind being carried forward by the Fourth International founded by Comrade Trotsky.

The best tribute to Comrade Cannon is not to mourn but to organize in order to mould and multiply youth through education, agitation, and organization in the spirit and legacy left by Comrade Cannon. We, the newly recruited youth organized in the Study and Struggle Alliance, pledge to fulfill this with all seriousness.

Baghirath Shah, convenor, Study and Struggle Alliance of Gujarat State

Help publish writings of James P. Cannon

The James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund was launched Aug. 23 and has grown to \$60,984.47. Since our last report in *The Militant* two weeks ago, the fund has been given a significant boost by a \$1,000 contribution.



Cannon in 1942

The contributor, who asked to be anonymous, wrote, "I've had this money in my savings account for quite a while—for security. But I decided that with the way the economy is going, keeping it in the bank is not that secure. I don't know where the economy is going, but I do know where the Socialist Workers Party is going. This is where I want to make my investment."

One of the main purposes of the Cannon fund is to help in the publication of Cannon's speeches and writings. In addition to much material that has never been published, the book *America's Road to Socialism* has long been out of print. The reprinting of this important book by Pathfinder Press will be one of the fruits of the Cannon fund. It is scheduled to appear by January 1975.

Please send your contribution to help make the rich legacy of Cannon's works available to the new generation of revolutionary youth.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____ (Make checks payable to James P. Cannon Fund.)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send to: Cannon Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Fund directors: Reba Hansen and George Novack. Treasurer: Andrea Morell.

Background to racist violence

Boston: a history of segregation

By FRED HALSTEAD

BOSTON—The frightening outburst of racist violence against the Black community in the Boston school desegregation crisis contains some important lessons for the rest of the country. But before it's possible to appreciate them, it is necessary to note certain peculiarities of the Boston scene.

Unlike many other big American cities, Boston still has a large white population living in much of the central city, particularly in its older sections. The politics of the city proper—not necessarily of the suburbs—is dominated entirely by a Democratic Party machine based on the bloc vote of a single ethnic group, the Boston Irish Catholics.

The Boston Irish make up an absolute majority of the population within the city limits and an even greater percentage of the voters. All offices elected on a city-wide basis are dominated by the Boston Irish Democratic Party machine.

It blatantly uses its power to dispense jobs and other patronage to its loyal supporters. It expects favors for contracts. It makes no pretense of dividing up posts among the city's various ethnic groups.

Some 17 percent of the city's population is Black. A similar but decreasing percentage is Italian. About 7 percent are Puerto Rican. But all nine members of the city council, and all five members of the school committee, are Boston Irish Democrats.

These offices—in other cities usually elected on a district basis—are elected city-wide here. In the entire history of the school committee since it was established in 1906, there has never been a Black member. Only once in modern times has the city council had a Black member.

Deliberate segregation

Over the years, the all-white school committee—which has the power to allocate funds and to assign pupils to particular schools—has consciously and deliberately created a pattern of school segregation and of inferior financing and servicing of predominantly Black schools.

For the past decade, the school committee has devoted itself to a campaign to oppose an anticipated attempt to desegregate the Boston schools. In the same period, the Boston schools generally have deteriorated from an already abysmal state (as described in Jonathan Kozol's *Death at an Early Age*, published in 1967). The school committee has utterly failed to make any significant progress in improving the quality of education in Boston.

But a set of Democratic politicians—including City Councilwoman Louise Day Hicks and school committee Chairman John Kerrigan—have built political careers and a set of neighborhood political machines by playing on the fears of the residents of the old Boston Irish neighborhoods that the Black ghetto would take them over if the schools were desegregated.

This campaign of racist demagogic had a particularly sharp effect in the community of South Boston, also known as "Southie."

South Boston is a sharply defined neighborhood located on the peninsula jutting into Boston Harbor, surrounded on three sides by water and on the fourth by a trucking and warehouse complex and an eight-lane superhighway.

"Southie" has fewer than 40,000 resi-



A South Boston street. This neighborhood of 40,000 has been at center of busing controversy.

dents (in a city of 640,000). But in the days when it was the center of Boston's shipping industry it had political clout. It was the home base of the most powerful Boston Irish politicians, including the late Boston mayor James Michael Curley of *Last Hurrah* fame.

But since the 1950s its docks have ceased to be important, and it is now an area of high unemployment. It's an old residential area with a view of the bay, in easy walking distance of one of Boston's few beaches.

It is occupied mainly by working-class Boston Irish, many of whom depend on connections with the Democratic Party machine for petty favors and generally unskilled jobs in city departments. Many of them have lived there all their lives and have no desire to leave, and no way to make it in the suburbs even if they did leave.

Louise Day Hicks lives in South Boston, in the very small area there with upper-middle-class houses. She's a real estate broker by profession, and well aware of the concerted (and illegal) pattern of housing discrimination that her profession is so expert at maintaining, which contributes to the more fundamental cause of segregated schools—segregated neighborhoods.

She also knows enough about modern capitalist America to know that in all probability the really big money considers most of the present population of South Boston to be expendable, to be in the way of a much more profitable development of what is potentially one of the choicest spots for urban living left in the United States.

Her political efforts, however, are devoted not to defending her neighbors from the inevitable attack by big capital on their neighborhood, but to whipping up a racist hysteria and diverting the attention of the residents of South Boston from their real problems.

South Boston has long been a tightly knit, all-white neighborhood, hostile to strangers. Racist violence has broken out there before. In 1973 a number of Puerto Rican families were driven out of a housing project in South Boston by a campaign of violence including fire bombing.

In their public pronouncements, Hicks, Kerrigan, and the other Democratic Party politicians who are the public face of the movement against desegregation in Boston are generally

careful to couch their opposition to desegregation in terms of defense of "neighborhood schools" or against "forced busing."

But as Judge Arthur Garrity pointed out in his court desegregation order, the school committee never operated "neighborhood schools" in much of Boston and did not hesitate to use various forms of transportation, including busing, to maintain the pattern of segregation.

Indeed, before as well as after the desegregation order, some students from South Boston and other white neighborhoods were bused across town to special high schools that offered trade-school or academic courses not available at a nearby high school.

One such school is Boys' Latin, a special academic high school located in a complex of university and hospital buildings surrounded by a Black community north of Roxbury. Directly across the street from Boys' Latin is English High, a regular school.

Before the desegregation order Boys' Latin was virtually all white, English virtually all Black. And they were across the street from one another.

Boston Technical High is also predominantly white, but lies in the center of a Black community. White students bus to it, and always have.

About a mile south of South Boston, across the water, lies another peninsula, Columbia Point, where a largely Black housing project is located. Before the desegregation order, students from Columbia Point had to bus to English or Roxbury High, across town. Now they are bused to South Boston High School, only about a mile and a half away.

Actually, they could walk, but it wouldn't be safe right now, because of the racist violence.

Under the desegregation order, some white students from South Boston are supposed to be bused to Roxbury High, a predominantly Black school in the Black community. But the racist school boycott is not aimed simply at this part of the plan. White South Boston parents backing the racist school boycott are also keeping their children out of South Boston

High, which is right in their own neighborhood, and demonstrating against the presence of the Black students from Columbia Point in South Boston High.

All the talk about "neighborhood schools" and "forced busing" falls apart in the face of such facts. The real issue is opposition to integration on plain old racist grounds.

Organized racist campaign

The signs painted on the walls in South Boston along the route taken by the buses bringing the Black students also make the real issue crystal clear. "Kill niggers" is the most common one.

These signs are not simply a spontaneous expression of the feelings of the population of South Boston and other white communities where they appear. They are deliberately painted along the routes the buses travel or in the immediate vicinity of the schools where the students can see them. They are not generally found in other parts of these neighborhoods, even in South Boston.

It is clear they are part of an organized plan to terrorize and provoke the Black students. The segregationists are well organized on several levels. They not only have the school committee and the support of the city council, but also neighborhood groups called "Home and School Associations," large, well-equipped, well-staffed "information centers," and an overall coordinating group called ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), which meets weekly in the city council chambers at Boston city hall. They frequently mobilize their forces and call demonstrations involving several thousand persons.

In addition, many parts of the desegregation order must be implemented through the school committee itself, which goes through the motions ordered by the court, but is doing everything it can get away with to sabotage the desegregation plan.

In addition to that, the physical protection of the Black students rests in major part with local police forces, whose members are not above sharing the racist attitudes of much of the white population.

In the face of all this, the Black



Oct. 13 rally protesting racist violence. Sentiment in Black community for action against racists is strong, but remains unorganized.

Militant/Baxter Smith

Boston racists organize to provoke violence in schools

By BAXTER SMITH

BOSTON—This city is entering its seventh week of court-ordered public school desegregation and the stubborn campaign of racist opposition is showing no signs of letting up.

Gone for now are the white mobs attacking school buses. But the atmosphere of racist violence is still present. Just last week a Black truck driver was pulled from his truck and beaten in South Boston.

Over Veterans' Day weekend busing foes organized four motorcades of racist supporters, the largest on Oct. 28 culminating in a South Boston rally estimated by police at 8,000 people.

These actions had a new aspect to them. They mobilized large numbers of whites from the suburbs who fear busing will bring Blacks to their neighborhoods. Judge Arthur Garrity, who ordered the desegregation plan, has indicated that he is considering a metropolitan-suburban busing plan for phase two of the desegregation plan slated to be implemented in September 1975.

The Nazis also came into Boston again last week in full uniform. They have been riding around town in a yellow school bus sporting signs of "White Power!"

Meanwhile, the mobs stoning buses have been replaced by what appears to be a carefully organized campaign to create "chaos" in the schools. If enough incidents of violence can be generated, the reactionaries reason, it will "prove" desegregation just can't work.

"We know that some of the white parents are sending their kids to school to stir up trouble," Bob Young, a Black parent who is a school observer at Hyde Park High School, said last week. "What else could it be?"

Young recounted a knifing incident at Hyde Park High, on Oct. 15, when a white boy was allegedly stabbed by a Black youth, Renardo Baldwin. The press said the incident was touched off when several Black girls in the lavatory pushed a white girl who responded with the words, "Black bitches," and dashed outside telling white boys that Black girls were bothering her for no reason.

Young explained that, in fact, the white girl went into the washroom "calling every Black girl a bitch," and then sprinted down the hallway with the story that she'd been pushed.

Baldwin was not even near the scene but was nonetheless charged with the stabbing, Young said.

Using the stabbing as an excuse, even though Black students have previously been injured by whites in the schools, school officials introduced airline-style metal detectors to screen incoming students.

Racism is apparent in other actions taken against Black students.

Suspensions since the school term opened Sept. 12 have been running high. But many more Black students have been suspended than whites.

In addition, the overwhelming number of students arrested since school began have been Blacks.

Black students at Hyde Park High also report that Tactical Patrol Force cops, who prowl the hallways, often try to provoke them by calling them "niggers."

Racist incidents have also been reported outside the schools. At Jamaica Plain High one day last week, police reported that two white men leaped from a car with baseball bats and chased four Black students into the



LOUISE DAY HICKS: Racist demagogue and real estate broker.

community appears relatively powerless. It has no voice in city politics. The few Black representatives to the state legislature (all Democratic Party politicians) have constituted themselves a Black Caucus and have acted as spokespersons for the integration forces, but have done little else.

The Black community here is relatively small and relatively scattered, compared with those in places like Detroit or Chicago. And the feeling of strength and solidarity is not as great.

Black sentiment

Decisive leadership within the Black community could galvanize a strong mobilization, since the sentiment is obviously there to do everything possible to help the Black students facing the ordeal.

This in turn would no doubt contribute greatly to support coming from around the country and from the pro-integration forces in the white community. But so far such leadership is not apparent.

One of the most ominous developments here is the degree to which the white liberals, and even many radicals, have caved in to the racist pressure. They have beaten a retreat in the face of the racist violence, and they have shown confusion when confronted with racist arguments couched in terms of "busing" and "neighborhood schools."

In this situation, everything turns around the courage and cool-headedness of the Black students, who must face the racist provocations every school day.

So far, they have come through like soldiers. But it obviously isn't easy. In spite of the carefully worded pronouncement of the public leaders of the prosegregation forces that they want to keep things nonviolent, it is clear that they are counting on "chaos" and "disruption" in the schools.

They frequently refer to this as the reason why desegregation won't work and the court order must be reversed. There have already been numerous attempts to provoke fights within the schools.

In this situation, the position of the Black students is extremely delicate. If they respond to racist epithets, the chances are it is they who will be most severely punished, since it is the school committee that has appointed the school administrators and hired the monitors.

In spite of all these difficulties, so far the desegregation plan is working, in the sense that the schools are operating and the attendance is creeping up toward normal.

If this situation continues, the racist campaign will fail. The racists know this. Therefore, a new outbreak of violence is a real danger.



Nazis have been riding around Boston in a school bus displaying signs saying 'White Power.'

school. No arrests were made.

In another such incident, a Black student on his way to English High was confronted by two white men who sprang from a car and sprayed him in the face with a chemical. Fortunately, a passing ambulance gave him medical relief.

Still another racist incident involved Colley Seabron, a 48-year-old Black deliveryman, who was accosted and beaten by six white men in South Boston one afternoon last week. (See box.)

Meanwhile, two white South Boston men were indicted in federal court last week for the Oct. 7 lynch attempt on Jean-Louis Yvon, a Haitian immigrant.

Statements of outrage at the racist mobilization in Boston, and the refusal of local and federal government officials to act, continue.

The Black Caucus of the American Federation of Teachers spoke out strongly this week in Washington, D. C. Caucus chairman Maceo Hutcherson denounced the racist violence as a "serious violation of the constitutional rights of the students. . . . We find it regrettable that the citizens of Boston, where 200 years ago the first blows against British tyranny were struck, should now turn out to be the

tyrants against freedom for American citizens."

Referring to President Ford's opposition to busing, Hutcherson said, "We find it reprehensible that the President of the United States . . . finds it impractical to defend the Constitution which he is legally and morally bound to uphold."

On Oct. 25 eight Black leaders met with President Ford and attacked him for encouraging resistance to desegregation in Boston.

Four Hyde Park High students, two whites and two Blacks, returned from a three-day trip to Charlotte, N.C., Oct. 24, at the order of the Boston school committee. The trip was initiated by Charlotte students to give the Boston students a look at desegregation in the Charlotte area.

School committee chairman John Kerrigan pointed to an outbreak of fighting between Black and white students at one of the Charlotte schools as an excuse for bringing back the Boston students. He claimed the fighting proved desegregation was not working in Charlotte.

The students, irate over the committee's action, said that Hyde Park High, compared to Charlotte schools, was "like a prison."

White thugs assault Black

BOSTON—Colley Seabron will probably think twice from now on about driving through the streets of South Boston delivering goods.

"I guess I made the wrong turn," Seabron said, trying to explain how six white men managed to jump and beat him Oct. 23 as he was delivering goods for Causeway Printing Company, the outfit where he works. He now says, "I ain't going to South Boston. I'm afraid."

Seabron, 48, and Black, says he saw the men step off the curb as he came to a halt in the truck he was driving.

"Then one of the men smashed the window on the right side of the truck. I thought they were going to kill me for sure. I figured at this point it was going to be me or them—so I jumped from the front seat of the truck and pulled a knife that I carry in my pocket—it's

about two-and-one-half inches long.

"I figured if they were going to get me then I was going to get one of them," Seabron said.

Seabron says he remembers seeing a white woman step into the street and say something to the men.

"The whole thing happened so fast and I was frightened, so when they stepped on the sidewalk I jumped back into the truck and drove off."

"Meanwhile," he said, "kids that were standing on the corner drinking beer ran up to where the men were beating me and started pitching beer cans at me as I got back into the truck."

But Seabron managed to get into the truck anyway and make his way back to work, bleeding. He was then taken to Massachusetts General Hospital, where he was treated.

Maoists join segregationists in Boston

By DAVE FRANKEL

While attempting to deny Black children the right to attend desegregated schools, the racists in Boston have done their best to cover up the real issue. They talk about "quality education for all in neighborhood schools," but they have mobilized their forces against busing because it is through busing that the schools are desegregated.

The only method yet discovered for desegregating schools when Blacks live in a separate ghetto is busing. The racist mobs have tried to stop the busing and confine Black children to ghetto schools by the use of violence. They have stoned buses, screamed ugly threats at the Black students, and have beaten individual Blacks, nearly lynching one man.

In this situation the Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU) has come out unequivocally on the side of the white bigots with the demand to "Stop the Boston Busing Plan." Not only does the RU take the same position as the racists, it even adopts the arguments of the more clever segregationists.

This comes out most clearly in an RU leaflet distributed in Boston. In it, RU says, "We can't write off all white resistance to the busing plan as just racist." While rejecting the crude racism of the Ku Klux Klan, the RU leaflet quotes approvingly a statement by a member of the racist Hyde Park Anti-Forced Busing Board, who said:

"After forced busing is over, this organization is going to stay together and we're going to march with Blacks for better education all over the city. . . . This is not a Black and white racial issue. It's an issue of education."

This statement talks about unity with Blacks—with just one little precondition: that the Black community first be defeated in the struggle over

busing. If that happens, these racists will then sing a different tune. Yet this crude maneuver is taken by the RU for good coin.

RU says that "the basis for unity between Black and white parents [is] their resistance to the busing plan. . . ." That is, the basis for unity is support to the position of the racists—dressed up in phony arguments about "better education for all."

At the same time as RU lauds the white resistance to busing as progressive, it condemns "anti-white sentiment [that] has grown in Black and Latin communities, expressing itself in the attitude 'We're gonna show those honkies we can go to their schools if we want to.'" Black people demand the most elementary democratic rights—and RU attacks them for it!

According to the RU, "The kind of integration brought about by the busing plan—forced integration based on national inequality—intensifies national hostilities rather than reduces them. . . ."

"Forced integration"—RU approaches the problem from the point of view of the white racists! RU tells Blacks to wait until whites are willing to accept desegregation. As far as they are concerned, it is not white racism but the Black struggle *against* racism that "intensifies national hostilities." This is a segregationist position, pure and simple.

In keeping with its attempt to curry favor with the white racists, the RU refuses to put the blame for violence squarely on the racist mobs, where it belongs. Instead they call for "uniting with the demand against TPF [Tactical Patrol Force] brutality in Southie." RU's notion of unity is to ask Blacks to sympathize with the white mobs when police try to stop them from attacking Black schoolchildren.

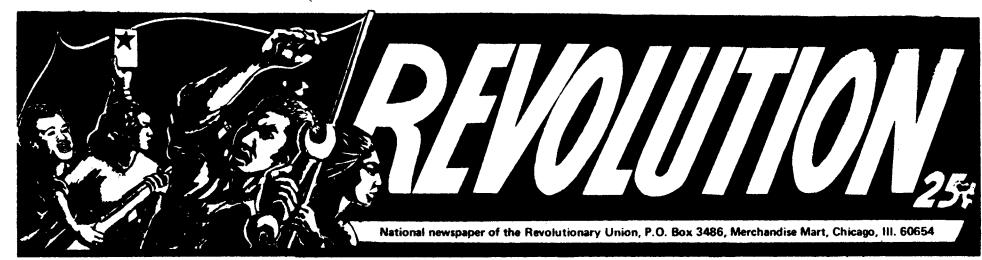
Behind RU's racist adaptation to the antibusing crusade is its view that the racist white workers in South Boston represent the working class. In order to sink roots in this stratum of white workers, the RU is perfectly willing to adapt to the backward prejudices of these workers and even to apologize for their racism. From this point of view, the struggle of Black people for their rights is "divisive."

In contrast to RU's support of whites who want to preserve their special privileges, revolutionaries in the Socialist Workers Party say that white racism is the source of divisions in the working class. The only way to bring about unity between Black and white workers is by opposing racism, not adapting to it.

The RU has a formal position recognizing that Blacks are an oppressed nationality. They say in the October issue of their newspaper, *Revolution*, that "it is essential for everyone to fight against the oppression and discrimination of Black people and other oppressed nationalities. . . ."

But such words aren't worth much when in an actual struggle between the white oppressors and the Black community RU adopts the position of the reactionary white nationalists. In practice the RU fears any independent struggle by Blacks. They fail to understand that the independent struggles of Black people—which are nationalist struggles—are part of the working-class struggle against capitalism. In Boston the struggle against the racist offensive is currently the central battle in the class struggle.

Unity of the working class can only be based on a common struggle against all forms of privilege and prejudice. To refuse to champion the demands of Blacks in the name of working-class unity is simply to ignore the needs of the most oppressed sections of the working class and to pander to the prejudices of its most backward layers. In the name of "working-class unity," the RU has wound up on the same side as the segregationists and capitalists.



People Must Unite To Smash Boston Busing Plan

How to unite the people to oppose the ruling class' attempts to divide them is the question posed by recent events in Boston around the issue of busing.

When the Boston schools opened on Sept. 12, thousands of white parents and students began a

—Black and white—against our common enemy—the ruling class and its local agents such as Kerrigan and Hicks and to fight for a better education, better school facilities, etc., for all the children. And within this general struggle, it is essential for everyone to fight against

use local funds) as a cover, federal funding of education has been cut back significantly, including programs for "educational enrichment," remedial math and reading, bi-lingual education, physical education, libraries, construction, etc.

Revolutionary Union has same position as segregationists in Boston school fight

Who's organizing the antibusing drive?

By WARREN HALL

BOSTON—The capitalist media have been portraying the leaders of the antibusing movement here as concerned parents who feel strongly about "neighborhood schools." According to these accounts, the movement to halt desegregation here isn't political at all.

But the fact is that the antibusing drive is a movement of political reaction, and its political content puts it on the far right.

This was shown clearly at a recent meeting of the central antibusing group, ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights).

ROAR meets in the city council chambers. They are able to do this because members of the city council are also members of ROAR, and they use their influence to provide this prestigious place for weekly gatherings.

Several hundred persons attended the meeting of Oct. 23, filling the chambers to standing room only. All those present were white, middle-aged, and as far as could be ascertained from appearances, the crowd was overwhelmingly Boston Irish Catholic, the majority ethnic group in the city proper.

The meeting was opened by a series of short speeches from Democratic Party politicians—holders of posts in the Boston city government or representatives from the state legislature—making the record in opposition to court-ordered integration.

The audience, however, was not made up of middle-of-the-road Dem-

ocrats. This gathering of antibusing organizers was clearly a meeting of the far right.

On the way into the meeting everyone received "VOTE FOR KAHIAN" bumper stickers. Leo Kahian is a member of the John Birch Society and a candidate for governor of Massachusetts on the American Party ticket. The American Party originated with the presidential campaign of Alabama Governor George Wallace.

Kahian was the featured speaker of the evening. He was greeted with enthusiastic applause and cheers when he was introduced. His campaign headquarters is located in South Boston, the scene of most of the racist white violence against Blacks in the current struggle to integrate the Boston city schools. Clearly, many in the

room knew his record and sympathized with his views.

Kahian has been campaigning around three issues. Here is a typical statement from the *South Boston Tribune* of Oct. 24:

"It is as simple as ABC—Abortion, Busing, and Capital Punishment. All three of my opponents, Democratic/Socialist Dukakis, Republican/Socialist Sargent, and Socialist/Socialist Gurewitz are in complete agreement.

"They are against the right of the innocent unborn to be allowed to live. They are against the right of parents to send their children to neighborhood schools and they are against Capital Punishment for those found guilty of murder and other heinous crimes."

Kahian's campaign office distributes a brochure entitled, "Forced Busing—

Government Control of Our Children." Next to a picture of mothers with their children it says, "The grief of these mothers is all too apparent as their children are bused for miles into high-crime areas and schools where outnumbered whites are regularly beaten, raped, and slashed by radicalized blacks being urged by revolutionary toughs to 'get whitey.'"

At the ROAR meeting Kahian delivered a speech denouncing the integration plan as part of a Communist plot to "take the children away from the parents like they do in Eastern Europe" and quoting at length from J. Edgar Hoover. He received a standing ovation at the end of his speech.

ROAR is nervous about its public image. Organizers of the meeting made the press sit outside the meeting hall and closed the doors at times. One person who attended the meeting reported that the audience was told, "Make sure you know the person sitting next to you. We don't want any leaks to the press. Make sure no one is taking notes. We'll tell you if you need to write anything down."

The speakers at the meeting were generally careful to avoid the crude racist language that is common among anti-integration forces on the street.

But one politician went too far for this crowd. He maintained that many Blacks are opposed to busing and an effort should be made to invite them to meetings. A threatening rumble of disapproval rose up from the crowd.



Racists clash with police. Antibusing crusade has been organized by extreme right.

The Kissinger-Brezhnev meeting: plotting counterrevolution in Europe & the Mideast

By DAVE FRANKEL

U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Soviet Communist Party chief Leonid Brezhnev met in Moscow Oct. 24-26. As is usual at such secret meetings, soothing communiqués were issued describing the talks as "useful," "frank," and "cordial," and saying nothing about what was actually discussed.

Moscow and Washington would dearly like to arbitrate the problems of the world, according to their mutual benefit, in cozy meetings behind locked doors. But the problems are getting too big. They affect too many people, and they keep spilling out of the framework set up by the would-be arbiters, as was shown during the Mideast war of October 1973.

The Kissinger-Brezhnev meetings were an attempt to shore up the framework of détente against the rising tide of the class struggle around the world, particularly against the destabilizing effect of the economic crisis gathering strength in the imperialist countries. Kissinger saw his trip as a way "to test the willingness of the Soviet leadership to work with the Ford Administration for a curb on strategic arms and a settlement of European and Middle Eastern problems," wrote Bernard Gwertzman in the Oct. 22 *New York Times*.

Détente in Europe

For the imperialists, détente is a weapon to help them maintain their rule. Its effectiveness was shown in Vietnam, where the Soviet bureaucracy helped Washington achieve a settlement that left its Saigon puppet regime intact in exchange for the opening of trade relations. Recently, the problems of maintaining stable capitalist rule have increasingly shifted to Europe, and the détente strategy is being applied there as well.

Kissinger's trip to Moscow was preceded by U.S. recognition of East Germany in early September and by the trip of Polish Communist Party head Edward Gierek to the United States a month later. "So great is Moscow's concern over the talks which Mr. Gierek is having in the United States," wrote Paul Wohl in a *Christian Science Monitor* article, "that Soviet Foreign Minister and politburo member Andrei A. Gromyko spent several days in Warsaw briefing the Polish leader on the Kremlin's views about future East-West relations."

In addition to formal recognition of the division of Germany—long a major diplomatic goal of Moscow—and increased access to imperialist technology, the Stalinist bureaucrats hope to get agreement on the reduction of U.S. forces in Europe. In exchange for these bones, Washington

and its capitalist allies have assured themselves of the help of the multi-million-member Communist parties in Europe in keeping the radicalization of the European workers within the framework of capitalism.

As Christopher Wren pointed out in the Oct. 23 *New York Times*, "Moscow has refrained from urging such parties to take advantage of economic disarray to avoid jeopardizing its relations with Western governments."

Moreover, the Soviet bureaucrats have a vested interest in helping Washington stem the tide of world revolution, because it is the growth of the revolutionary workers movement in

founder of the right-wing clerical movement Opus Dei and a pillar of the Franco regime, in forming a "junta of national union," which hopes to replace Franco as the guardian of Spanish capitalism.

As the economic difficulties of Washington's European allies increase, and as social tensions rise, the counterrevolutionary character of détente and of the Stalinist parties that support it is becoming increasingly obvious.

The Mideast

Another major preoccupation of Kissinger and Brezhnev was undoubtedly the situation in the oil-rich Middle

best to help in imposing a settlement in the Arab East that would guarantee the maintenance of the Israeli colonial-settler state. The announced willingness of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to participate in the U.S.-Soviet-sponsored Geneva conference, and the PLO's replacement of the demand for a democratic, secular Palestine in what is now Israel with the demand for a Palestinian state on the West Bank of the Jordan River, were the result of pressure from Moscow as well as from most of the Arab governments.

However, Washington and Moscow are still a long way from reaching any workable agreement in the Mideast. And even to the extent that they agree, they will have a hard time getting everybody else involved to go along. Broad sections of the Palestinian people are unwilling to compromise their claim on all of Palestine.

In addition, the Israeli regime has shown no eagerness to give up an inch of the land on the West Bank that it conquered in 1967. And the Zionists are not above provoking another war as a means of foiling any pressure for a compromise on their part.

Trade and disarmament

Besides their counterrevolutionary deals concerning Europe and the Arab East, Kissinger and Brezhnev discussed trade—viewed by the Kremlin as the most important payoff for its help in policing the world for U.S. business.

As for discussion on disarmament, this gets much more play in the news reports than in actual negotiations. To the extent that the two sides are interested in any real agreements to hold down the costs of weapons programs, they leave the negotiations to teams of experts.

But the imperialists have no intention whatsoever of disarming. The participation of the Soviet government in the charade of disarmament only serves to mislead and confuse the people of the world. The conferences on disarmament are propaganda exercises, no different than the so-called disarmament negotiations that paved the way to World War I and II.



Workers in Turin demonstrate against layoffs. Stalinists are doing their best to help blunt radicalization of European workers.

side the Soviet Union that will eventually sweep them and their repressive apparatus away.

The example of Portugal

The Stalinist policy of actively opposing the socialist transformation of society has been most clearly expressed in Portugal, where the largest party in the country is the Portuguese Communist Party (CP).

"Indeed," writes the Oct. 14 issue of *Newsweek*, "Portuguese Communists have been on their best behavior since being given Cabinet posts last April, and they are well aware their performance is being closely watched for clues to what they might do if taken into coalition governments in other European countries. . . . Portuguese Communist leader Alvaro Cunhal, who was named minister without portfolio, has played a major role in curbing strikes and getting workers to moderate wage demands."

While Moscow propagandists justifiably make much of statements from Peking in support of the reactionary NATO alliance, they have said nothing about the fact that the Portuguese CP has supported without hesitation the continued membership of Lisbon in NATO, along with the renegotiation of the U.S. lease on the strategic Azores Islands air base.

In order to further stress its eagerness to collaborate with the capitalists, the Portuguese CP recently repudiated all references to the dictatorship of the proletariat in its program.

Similarly, the Italian Communist Party has also endorsed NATO and the Common Market in its search for a place in the capitalist government. The Spanish Communist Party has joined with Rafael Calvo Serer, the Catholic and monarchist who was a

East, an area whose importance to imperialism has been spotlighted by the events of the past year.

In trying to build a bulwark against the Arab revolution, Washington has been stepping up its military aid to the most conservative proimperialist regimes, such as those in Iran and Saudi Arabia. At the same time, the imperialists have kept open their options for military action that would be carried out by or in conjunction with their Israeli client. The danger of this has been increased by the bellicose stand taken by Washington on Middle East oil prices.

The military hardware earmarked for Israel—reportedly \$4-billion a year for each of the next four years alone—amounts to about 50 percent of the yearly gross national product of Israel. This places it in a wholly different category than the type of aid previously supplied by Washington to the Zionist state.

However, the imperialists would prefer a settlement in the Arab East that would make direct military intervention unnecessary. And for that they need Moscow.

The tenor of the talks between Kissinger and Brezhnev was indicated when Gierek told reporters in Washington, D.C., Oct. 9 that he envisioned resumption of diplomatic relations between Poland and Israel "within a year." He added that "Poland has always supported the existence of Israel."

Diplomatic sources from other East European workers states were quoted the next day as saying that the Soviet Union, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia also expected to resume diplomatic relations with Israel in 1975.

It is clear that Moscow will do its



BREZHNEV & KISSINGER: They would like to arbitrate world problems behind closed doors.



U.S. paratrooper during October 1973 alert of U.S. forces. Washington is still prepared to intervene militarily in Mideast.

Millions in Japan protest Ford visit, U.S. nuclear weapons

From Intercontinental Press

By PETER GREEN

Huge protest rallies throughout Japan on international antiwar day, October 21, demanded the removal of U.S. nuclear weapons and the cancellation of Ford's scheduled November 18 visit. The sponsoring organizations, which included the Communist and Socialist parties and the major trade unions, reported that 2.2 million persons had taken part in 456 demonstrations.

A rally in Meiji Park in central Tokyo was attended by 70,000 demonstrators. Speakers at the rally repeatedly pointed to the massive protests in 1960 that forced the cancellation of President Eisenhower's visit. A Communist party speaker called for "an even larger-scale movement" to block Ford's visit.

The mounting opposition to the presence of U.S. nuclear weapons in Japan—the country that experienced the world's only atomic bombings—has been given a further boost by new revelations that confirm the existence of a secret agreement between Washington and Tokyo permitting the United States to move nuclear weapons through the country.

Citing "authoritative Japanese sources," *New York Times* correspondent Richard Halloran reported October 27 that the agreement was made in 1960 by Aiichiro Fujiyama, then Japan's foreign minister, and Douglas MacArthur II, the U.S. ambassador.

The secret agreement was concluded without a Japanese text so that the Japanese government could deny its existence without fearing that a copy of the document might be leaked. Only U.S. officials recorded the agreement.

In a dispatch to the October 22 *New York Times* that appears to have been colored by a little wishful thinking, Halloran described the response at the Tokyo rally as "tepid."

"With the rather lighthearted, carnival atmosphere that prevailed tonight," he said, "it seemed doubtful that they [the sponsoring organizations] had made much headway toward their objective" of forcing the cancellation of Ford's visit.

However, three weeks before Eisenhower's planned visit in 1960, the *New York Times* made a similar effort to play down the seriousness of the opposition. "Students and Adults Chant in Carnival Spirit Against Visit by Eisenhower" was the subhead on an article by Robert Trumbull in the May 27, 1960, *New York Times* reporting demonstrations by more than two million persons throughout Japan.



Rally of 70,000 in Tokyo Oct. 21

The "carnival spirit" in 1960 forced the Japanese government to cancel Eisenhower's visit and led to the resignation of Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi a month later. The current wave of protest—sparked initially by the congressional testimony of retired Rear Admiral Gene LaRocque that U.S. warships carrying nuclear weapons do not unload them before entering Japanese ports—might be just as far-reaching in its effects.

When LaRocque's testimony was made public in Japan on October 7, 15,000 persons demonstrated at Sasebo, near Nagasaki, until the guided-missile frigate *Warden* and the destroyer *Gurke* left. The next day the nuclear-powered attack submarine *Pogy* left Yokosuka, and when the aircraft carrier *Midway* returned to Yokosuka Bay October 10, it was met by about 1,000 demonstrators.

As more and more evidence emerged

showing that the U.S. was in fact bringing nuclear weapons into Japan, Tokyo continued to issue denials. Foreign Minister Toshio Kimura told parliament October 14 that there was no secret transit agreement with Washington, and said he believed there were no nuclear weapons aboard U.S. warships in Japanese ports.

Crew members from the U.S. aircraft carrier *Midway* were able to give specific details of the nuclear weapons the ship brought into Japanese ports. The October 14 *Washington Post* reported that "seamen with firsthand knowledge of the *Midway*'s armaments and cargo said the white or silver nuclear bombs with red-painted noses are kept in 'special ammunition' magazines under 24-hour guard by armed U.S. Marines."

The bombs were aboard when the carrier left California a year ago, they said, and more were brought aboard at Subic Bay in the Philippines in February. Since then only one bomb had been removed, after it reportedly failed a "safety test." One crewman, quoted by a Socialist member of the Japanese parliament on October 21, claimed the *Midway* was carrying at least fifteen nuclear bombs.

Even after all this, Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka still stuck to his denials. "I am convinced that nuclear weapons have not been brought into Japan," he said October 22. He claimed that Washington had told the Japanese government that it would not bring nuclear weapons into the country.

According to a public-opinion poll taken toward the end of September by a leading daily, the *Mainichi Shimbun*, only 18 percent of the Japanese people support Tanaka's administration. Coming on top of disclosures this month about Tanaka's crooked financial dealings, the current storm of protest over nuclear weapons could seriously weaken his government.

Frelimo troops attacked by Lisbon soldiers

By TONY THOMAS

A clash between troops of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) and Portuguese army commandos took place Oct. 21 in Lourenço Marques, the capital of Mozambique.

The fighting, which was initiated by Portuguese commandos, sparked a new uprising by the city's Black population, which has shown itself determined to beat back any challenge to the independence struggle.

Mozambique is a Portuguese colony now administered by a joint government of Frelimo and Portuguese officials. This regime is supposed to prepare Mozambique's transition to independence on June 25, 1975.

However, the recent clash indicates the contradiction in a government containing liberation fighters who have battled the Portuguese for 10 years, together with the Portuguese colonialists.

The clash reportedly began when a Portuguese soldier attacked a Mozambican youth who was wearing a shirt with the Frelimo flag on it. A Frelimo soldier who came to the youth's aid was attacked by the Portuguese soldier. Later, Portuguese commandos opened fire on a contingent of Frelimo soldiers, and a general clash developed.

An Oct. 21 *Reuters* dispatch reported that the clash was subdued by a combined force of Portuguese and Frelimo troops. By that evening, 14 had reportedly been killed and 66 wounded in the clash.

However, the news of the Portuguese provocation led to an uprising in the Black shantytowns surrounding the city. By the next morning *Reuters* reported that at least 49 people had been killed, the sidewalks were blood-stained, and wrecked cars and still-smouldering homes could be seen in the white suburbs.

Joint Frelimo-Portuguese military units established roadblocks around the white suburbs to try to protect them from the Black uprisings.

More evidence of the danger of attacks by colonialist forces against the Mozambican people is an Oct. 23 *Christian Science Monitor* report that arms caches have been found on beaches near the city. It is believed that the arms belong to white-settler colonialist groups.

These white groups launched an unsuccessful coup in September, in an attempt to block Frelimo's inclusion in the "transitional" regime. Then also, it was a mass rebellion of the shantytown Blacks that crushed the white offensive. The Portuguese army refused to move decisively against the white coupists.

To safeguard the gains already won in the liberation struggle and to end imperialist exploitation, the liberation fighters should look to organizing and arming the shantytown Blacks and the other working masses of Mozambique.

The road to liberation in Mozambique is through defending the social and national interests of the masses of Black workers and peasants. So long as the Portuguese colonialists have a hand in the government of Mozambique they will attempt to frustrate this perspective.

New South Korean protests

President Ford also hopes to visit South Korea during his trip to the Far East, but he will find no warmer welcome among the Korean people than he will among the Japanese—if the trip takes place at all.

A leader of the Christian women's movement in Korea, Lee Oo Chung, told the *New York Times* recently that Koreans overwhelmingly oppose the planned visit, which will give aid and comfort to the Park dictatorship.

Street demonstrations by students and Catholics occurred almost daily in the last two weeks of October. The protesters demanded an end to the country's martial-law constitution and release of all political prisoners.

On Oct. 24, journalists and editors of *Dong-A Ilbo*, one of the country's

most influential daily newspapers, went on strike. They were demanding publication of a resolution against government censorship, the planting of security agents at newspaper offices, and interrogation and arrests of journalists. The newspaper workers won their demand, and the next day all seven national newspapers and three radio stations carried statements denouncing the censorship.

One of the pretexts for the government clampdown on the journalists was the publication of news reports on recent demonstrations by journalists, students, and others against the Thieu dictatorship in South Vietnam, which have been an inspiration to the South Korean people.

Militant street sales continue to top goal; subscription drive lags behind schedule

By ROSE OGDEN

While *The Militant* sales drive is moving along at a rapid pace, the 11-week drive to obtain 12,000 new subscribers to *The Militant* is seriously behind schedule.

A total of 6,338 new subscriptions have come in but this is only 53 percent of the goal. We should have 64 percent of the total by now. More than 5,600 subscriptions will have to be obtained in the final three weeks of the drive. This will require a major effort.

The scoreboard accompanying this article reports on the subscription drive rather than weekly street sales. Supporters can see how their city is

doing in relation to the others.

As the scoreboard shows, 11 cities are on schedule and Ann Arbor, Tallahassee, and Portland have sold 100 percent or more of their quotas.

Many other cities have indicated that even though they are behind now, they will be able to catch up and finish on time.

Boston supporters report plans to meet their quota of 700. Teams will spend two consecutive Sundays selling subscriptions on outlying campuses. In addition, special teams will spend a few days on those campuses that are too far from Boston to visit in one day.

Cleveland is only a slight margin

away from where they should be. Shirley Pasholk explains their plans to assure selling at least 157 more subscriptions: "The first two Saturdays in November will be devoted to selling subscriptions in Black housing projects. And on the last Saturday of the drive we plan to make a final visit to some area campuses."

The top sub-seller from Detroit, Lee Artz, reports that *Militant* single copy and subscription sales complement each other. Artz sold 46 subscriptions in one day at Central Michigan University. Thirty-three of these were sold while hawking *Militants*.

The 15 Young Socialist teams have each taken quotas of 30 *Militant* subscriptions a week. Some of the teams fell behind during the first weeks of their tours. Many report that on some campuses they are not permitted to enter the dorms, so to catch up they plan to spend more time selling subscriptions at off-campus housing, both in student neighborhoods and in Black communities.

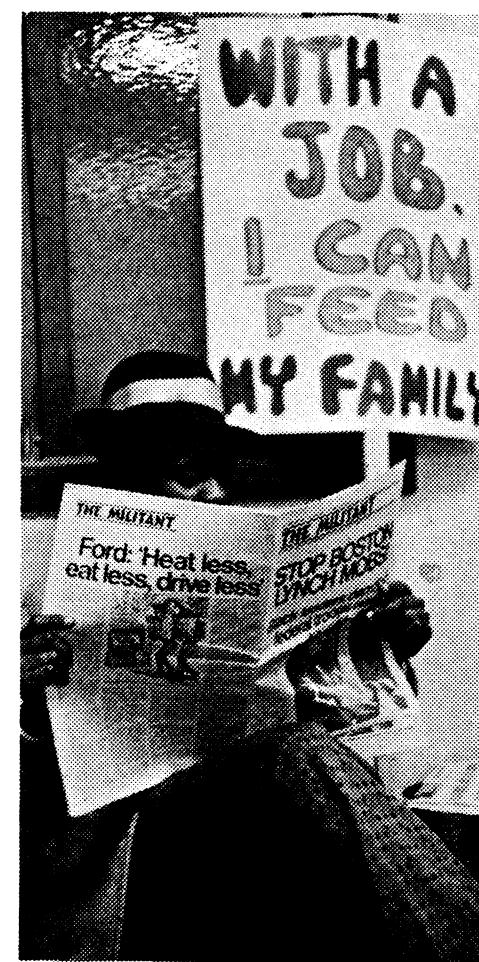
Some of the teams did exceptionally well this past week. For example, the Mid-Atlantic team sold 58 and the Illinois/Wisconsin team sold 35.

Militant street sales continue to remain well above our weekly goal of 9,600. Twenty-three cities out of the 31 reporting met their weekly sales goal, for a total of 10,416 copies of the Oct. 25 issue (headlined: "Ford incites Boston racists"). The Young Socialist teams sold 1,744 additional copies.

Supporters placed an emphasis on selling in Black communities in order to get out the truth about the racist offensive in Boston. Boston supporters sold 1,165 copies, primarily to Black people. Atlanta reports selling 435 to Blacks.

At a campus meeting in Detroit where Dick Gregory spoke, interest in *The Militant* was so high that people lined up to buy a copy. A total of 135 were sold at that event.

Portland reports that although they have met their subscription quota of 275 they plan to continue selling subscriptions, especially in the Black com-



Militant/Tom O'Brien
Participant in Chicago unemployed demonstration takes a break from picketing.

munity. Lisa Potash explains that *The Militant* has become well-known in Portland's Black community because of the regular sales they conduct each week. "The recent coverage of Boston has enhanced this recognition," Potash adds. "No one else has reported on the issues at stake nor come out in clear support for the rights of Black students. Recently when I was selling, a young Black man told me he was anxious to read *The Militant*—his mother had told him it was the greatest paper she had ever read."

Craig Honts sends in a similar report from Seattle. "On a number of occasions Black people driving by *Militant* sellers would stop their cars and hold out a quarter saying they wanted to read the latest news on Boston."

Subscription scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	SOLD	%
Ann Arbor, Mich.	30	34	113
Tallahassee, Fla.	15	15	100
Portland, Ore.	275	275	100
Denver	325	315	97
Chicago	400	324	81
Twin Cities	500	390	78
Detroit	475	353	74
Logan, Utah	50	36	72
St. Louis	300	205	68
East Lansing, Mich.	80	52	65
Pittsburgh	300	192	64
Cleveland	400	243	61
L. A. (West Side)	350	208	59
Philadelphia	300	178	59
San Francisco	500	296	59
State College, Pa.	15	8	53
Brooklyn, N.Y.	400	207	52
Nashville, Tenn.	25	13	52
Atlanta	350	178	51
Cincinnati	20	10	50
Milwaukee	100	49	49
San Diego	275	126	46
Upper West Side, N.Y.	400	175	44
Oakland/Berkeley	700	274	39
L. A. (Central-East)	350	131	37
Boston	700	244	35
Houston	400	134	34
Seattle	325	108	33
Indianapolis	25	8	32
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	400	121	30
Madison, Wis.	15	4	27
Albany, N.Y.	15	4	27
Washington, D.C.	350	89	25
TOTAL TO DATE		6,338	
SHOULD BE		7,680	
GOAL		12,000	
*no quota			

Militant sellers in California free speech fight

STOCKTON, Calif.—The Oct. 10 arrest of two socialist activists here for selling *The Militant* has created a bigger stir than the local police bargained for. Although Gaile Wixson and Bill Hutton, two members of a traveling team building support for the Socialist Workers Party candidates in California, were charged with doing business without a license, police questioning revolved around their political activities.

Dan Styron, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from California, said at an Oct. 16 news conference in Stockton:

"The Stockton police knew where the Young Socialists for Rodriguez were doing political work during the day, where they were staying at night, what car they were driving, and probably much more."

"The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are legal organizations. We campaign openly

for our ideas. In fact, it is these ideas that the Stockton police are trying to suppress. We plan to fight this case



Militant/Harry Ring
DAN STYRON: 'We will not let Stockton police prevent us from campaigning openly for our ideas.'

to the end."

The news conference and a rally of 60 people the same day held at the University of the Pacific (UOP) were covered in the *Stockton Record*, the area's only daily, and in the university newspaper. KOVR-TV, the major television station in the central California area, also gave coverage to the case.

At the rally, Gwenneth Browne, a professor of philosophy and the president of the American Association of University Professors in Stockton, gave her support to the socialists' fight. "Stockton would be a healthier place to live if citizens exercising their rights would not be harassed," she said.

Mark Rogo, vice-president of the Associated Students of UOP, noted that "the people who got busted could've been anybody. This thing must be taken care of before you or I are

the ones. I believe this incident is a flagrant violation of the Bill of Rights."

Wixson and Hutton are demanding that the charges against them be dropped, that all harassment and intimidation of radicals in Stockton be ended, and that the Stockton police open their files to the public. A pre-trial conference is scheduled for Nov. 4, at which time Marvin Marks, the American Civil Liberties Union attorney handling the defense, will ask that the charges be dropped.

In addition, the arrest is going to be used as an example of government harassment of the SWP in the party's challenge to the campaign disclosure laws in California. The SWP is challenging the law requiring that names of campaign contributors be handed in to the government, since this would result in supplying the government with a ready-made "enemies list."

Calendar

DETROIT

INJURY AND INSULT: LIFE IN CAPITALIST AMERICA -SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Sat., Nov. 9, 11 a.m.: Democratic rights. Speakers: Attica defendant; representative from Political Rights Defense Fund; 4 p.m.: What road to Black liberation; 7 p.m.: Black voices from prison. Speaker: Etheridge Knight; Sun., Nov. 10, 1 p.m.: Is the U.S. headed toward another depression—why the system won't work. Speaker: Dick Roberts. Student Center Building, Hillberry Lounge, Wayne State University. Donation: \$3 for entire conference, 75 cents per session. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (313) 833-5898.

HOUSTON

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION: DISCUSSION AND FILM. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Nov. 8, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

NASHVILLE

UNDERSTANDING MARXIST PHILOSOPHY. Speaker: Joe Soares, Socialist Workers Party. Class 1: Fri., Nov. 8, 7:30 p.m.; class 2: Sat., Nov. 9, 11:15 a.m. Sarrat Student Center, Room 203, Vanderbilt University. Donation: 50 cents. Ausp: Nashville Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (615) 383-2583.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

THE STRUGGLE FOR MINORITY JOBS IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY. Speakers: Gilbert Banks, Fight Back; Moses Harris, Black Economic Survival; Cecil Lamkin, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 8, 8 p.m. 2726 Broadway (at 104th St.), Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD: A FILM BY EISENSTEIN. Fri., Nov. 8, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

PHILADELPHIA

A NATIONAL MINERS STRIKE? WHAT'S AT STAKE? AN ON-THE-SCENE REPORT. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Nov. 8, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WAS-4316.

ST. LOUIS

HUNGER: U.S. AGIBUSINESS AND WORLD FAMINE. Speakers: Professor Jack Kirkland, director of Black studies, Washington Univ.; Allan Grady, SWP; others. Fri., Nov. 8, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Room 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

SAN FRANCISCO

BOSTON 1974: BLACK LIBERATION AND NORTHERN RACISM. Speakers: Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 8th C.D.; others. Fri., Nov. 8, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

TWIN CITIES

INDEPENDENCE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND. Speaker: Bernadette Devlin. Fri., Nov. 8, 8 p.m. West Bank Union auditorium, Univ. of Minnesota, Mpls. Ausp: Militant Forum, Young Socialist Alliance, Irish Northern Aid, West Bank Union. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...Ohio

Continued from page 8

dates distributed campaign platforms and a list of questions on Gilligan's antilabor record to the audience.

Brown has also spoken at meetings sponsored by the National Organization for Women and the Women's Political Caucus. A campaign representative also addressed a meeting of the Columbus Gay Activists Alliance.

At the beginning of October the Young Socialists for Nancy Brown organized a special week of high school campaigning that included speaking to classes and holding street meetings, discussions, and debates.

At Shaw High School, a predominantly Black school in East Cleveland, 54 students signed cards backing the SWP slate. At Cleveland Heights High School, one teacher took her class in American government outside to hear the socialist street rally.

On Oct. 20 four SWP candidates spoke at a rally sponsored by the League of Women Voters and carried live over television.

SWP congressional candidate Marguerite Snyder spoke out against the recent attacks on Black students at Collinwood High School and called attention to the absolute silence on this issue from her Democratic opponent, Louis Stokes.

Posters of the SWP campaign could be seen by television viewers as the capitalist candidates spoke, and the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* carried a front-page photo of a youngster holding a "Nancy Brown for Governor" poster.

"the Socialist Workers Party has been the subject of problems that the major political parties have not been subjected to," but concluded that the "valuable function" of disclosure laws outweighed the "problems and inconvenience to petitioner."

Speaking to the media after the hearing, Olga Rodriguez said, "What Judge Lucas called 'problems and inconvenience' is in reality extreme harassment, violent attacks, and ultimately a threat to our very right to participate in elections.

"I also disagree that these laws serve any 'valuable function.' Their real purpose is to drive trade unions out of politics, victimize the candidates and supporters of parties like the Socialist Workers Party and La Raza Unida Party, and restore people's illusions in the two fundamentally corrupt capitalist parties."

In related developments, the ACLU, representing the Washington, D.C., Socialist Workers campaign committee, wrote to the board of elections and ethics Oct. 10 to request an exemption from the D.C. Campaign Finance Reform and Conflict of Interest Act.

The ACLU letter stated that while the Socialist Workers campaign committee would comply with all the act's requirements, it would refuse to provide information about expenditures and contributions that would expose its supporters to harassment or intimidation.

On Oct. 24, the Ohio ACLU filed suit in federal court on behalf of the Ohio Socialist Workers campaign committee, demanding that the SWP be exempted from the state campaign finance disclosure law. A news conference announcing the suit was widely covered by local radio and television.

ur Park Oct. 27. There were speeches, Latin music, and *teatros*.

The event was sponsored by the Los Angeles Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee, a coalition of numerous radical and community groups. Among those participating were the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party, New American Movement, National Committee to Free Los Tres, CASA, La Raza Unida Party, October League, and the Filipino organization KDP.

In Seattle, 200 marched through the university district Oct. 26 in an action sponsored by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee. Earlier in the week 100 people turned out to attend a teach-in on Puerto Rico at the University of Washington.

In Oakland, Calif., 500 attended a rally Oct. 27 at which a tape recording of the Madison Square Garden rally was played. Speaking in addition were a representative of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Clyde Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement, and others. The action was endorsed by many organizations.

...Boston

Continued from page 28

Michael Dukakis had the gall to tour four Black churches Oct. 27 and refuse to mention the busing issue in any of them.

Dukakis and Republican candidate Governor Francis Sargent have made a pact to avoid discussing busing and even canceled a debate when the school situation was particularly tense. They have refused to debate SWP candidate Donald Gurewitz.

As Blacks face daily violence from the racists, the capitalist candidates pretend that nothing is happening.

In contrast, the SWP candidates are holding street rallies, distributing thousands of pieces of literature, and using all of their radio and TV time in an effort to tell the truth about what is going on in Boston and to mobilize support behind the Black community.

"Boston voters can deal a blow to the racists in this election," says Gurewitz. "Vote Socialist Workers Party and vote 'Yes' on Question 7 on Nov. 5.

"Our campaign to defend the Black community's right to desegregated schools will not end on election day. We will continue our all-out support until the racists are decisively defeated."

...court

Continued from page 10

"Oil companies are unpopular; banks are unpopular; most politicians are unpopular," Lowenstein argued. "Granting this [injunction] would say that all unpopular people could be exempt."

Rosenbaum responded by citing example after example of economic reprisals against SWP members and supporters, FBI intimidation, police disruption of legal political activities, and terrorist attacks.

He also pointed to the FBI's admitted "SWP Disruption Program" and the fact that the House Internal Security Committee maintains a file on California SWP gubernatorial candidate Olga Rodriguez.

Judge Lucas's ruling admitted that

...rally

Continued from page 11

struggle. There is a diversity of forms and means by which the Puerto Rican people struggle for independence and national liberation. This is one of the means."

He criticized U.S. imperialism for its decades of violence against the Puerto Rican people.

Actions took place in other cities in solidarity with the New York rally and with the struggle for Puerto Rican independence. In Los Angeles 500 people marched to a rally in MacArth-

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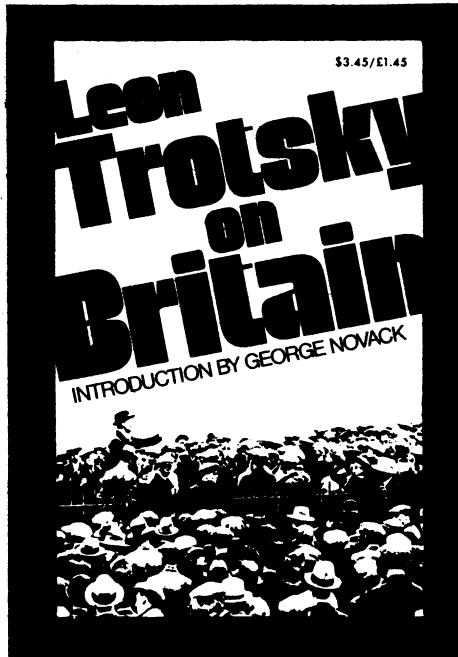
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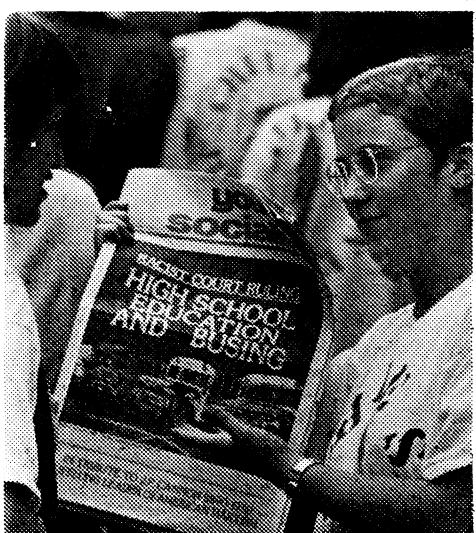
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THE MILITANT

Vote 'Yes' on Question 7

Abolish racist school committee in Boston!

By SUSAN LAMONT

BOSTON—Voters in Boston will have a chance to get rid of the racist school committee in next Tuesday's elections by voting "Yes" on Question 7.

If this referendum passes, the school committee will be abolished and replaced by a system under the direct control of the mayor, with local parent-student-teacher advisory councils drawn from the middle (junior high) and high schools.

In recent weeks, the racist antibusing forces have turned their attention to trying to preserve the school committee by defeating Question 7. The central antibusing group, ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), has made Question 7 a main theme of their rallies. They have distributed thousands of posters and buttons urging, "Save Our Schools—Vote 'No' on #7."

In the Black community and among supporters of the Black community's

Baxter Smith and Fred Halstead are on the scene in Boston to provide *Militant* readers with comprehensive coverage of the developments there. For their stories and other Boston news, see pages 20-22.

right to desegregated schools, sentiment is high for a "Yes" vote.

According to Gloria Joyner of the Committee for Question 7, "Virtually the entire Black community is supporting passage of Question 7, and there is growing support from whites."

The Socialist Workers Party candidates for governor and lieutenant governor of Massachusetts, Donald Gurewitz and Ollie Bivins, are campaigning for a "Yes" vote.

"A victory for Question 7 would be a blow to the racist resistance to school desegregation," said Gurewitz

and Bivins in a statement released here.

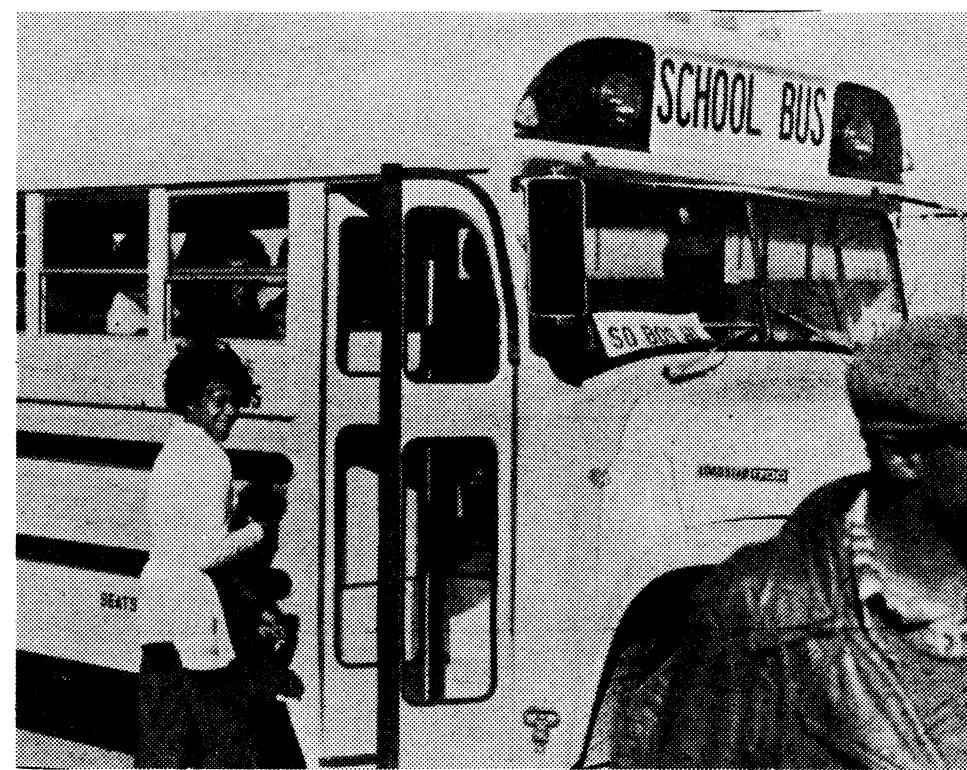
"ROAR and the other racists have made quite clear that they want to preserve the school committee at all costs. They know that the loss of this organizing center would be a setback for their efforts to maintain white privilege in the Boston schools. It is for exactly this reason that we urge a 'Yes' vote on Question 7.

"Abolition of the racist school committee would be an incentive for all supporters of the rights of Black youth to step up the struggle for complete desegregation of the Boston schools and for the right of the Black community to control all aspects of the education of Black students."

The hidebound school committee, composed of five members who are elected on a city-wide basis every two years, is an all-white body that has virtually unrestricted control of Boston's educational system. First established in 1906, this committee has never had a Black or Puerto Rican member. It is viewed by local Democratic Party machine politicians as a stepping stone to higher office and a vehicle for dispensing graft and patronage.

For the past nine years, the school committee has devoted a large part of its energies and resources to fighting against school desegregation. When the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Law was first passed in 1965, school committee members such as Louise Day Hicks, currently a city council member, vowed that they would never allow "forced busing" to come to Boston.

They refused to implement the Racial Imbalance Law, which made it illegal for a public school to be more than 50 percent nonwhite. The school committee spent tens of thousands of dollars in court battles aimed at strik-



Racist school committee has led opposition to school desegregation in Boston

ing down the Racial Imbalance Law.

These legal fights were coupled with a campaign of racist antibusing demonstrations that finally succeeded in winning repeal of the Racial Imbalance Law in the state legislature this year.

But it was too late. The Racial Imbalance Law was superseded by Federal Judge Arthur Garrity's decision ordering that Boston schools be desegregated.

Those favoring a victory for Question 7 point to Garrity's documentation of the school committee's responsibility for segregation.

Garrity's ruling said that the school committee "knowingly carried out a systematic program of segregation affecting all of the city's students, teachers, and school facilities and . . . intentionally brought about and maintained a dual school system."

Since the federal court order was handed down, the school committee has continued to fight to maintain segregation in the Boston schools. Members of the school committee have used their offices and resources to help mobilize the current racist offensive against the rights of Boston's Black community.

Working hand in glove with the all-white Democratic city council, the school committee sanctions the illegal boycott of schools by white students. Its members help organize and speak at the racist demonstrations and motorcades, and encourage the intimidation of Black students in the schools.

The importance of the fight to get rid of the Boston school committee was

stressed by speakers at the antiracist demonstration here initiated by the legislative Black Caucus on Oct. 13. It has also been a focus of the Black Educational Congress, a series of meetings of Black parents and students held in the schools in the Black community in recent weeks.

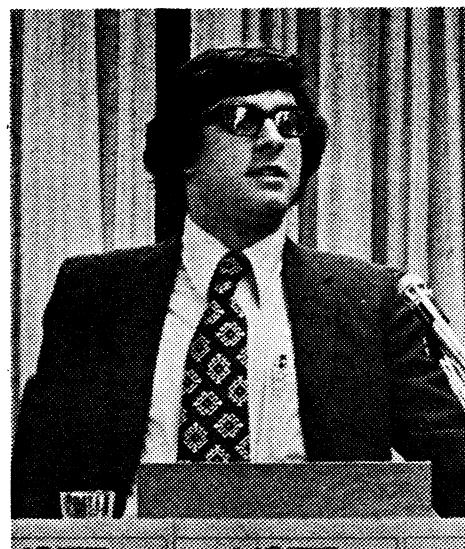
While vigorously campaigning for a "Yes" vote on Question 7, the socialist candidates point to the limitations of the plan. The school committee would be replaced by direct control of the schools by the mayor with the community councils having only limited formal powers, mostly in an advisory capacity.

In their statement, Gurewitz and Bivins pointed out, "The new plan will clearly not mean the kind of genuine Black control of the education of Black youth that is necessary to overcome decades of discrimination and second-rate education that has been forced on Black students in the Boston schools.

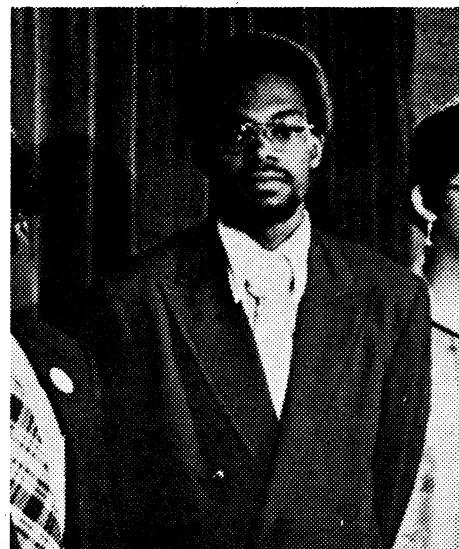
"Nonetheless, the abolition of the current school committee and its replacement by the new system—as limited as the powers of the community councils may be—would be a setback for the powerful racist mobilization. Question 7 deserves a 'Yes' vote for just that reason."

While the socialist candidates have made support for the Black community's struggle for desegregated public schools the central issue in their campaign, their Democratic and Republican opponents are refusing to discuss the "busing issue."

Democratic gubernatorial candidate
Continued on page 26



Militant/Betsy Waldheim
Donald Gurewitz (left) and Ollie Bivins, Socialist Workers Party candidates for governor and lieutenant governor of Massachusetts.



Militant/Joanna Rohrbaugh